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CALIFORNIA ★ POLITICAL
REVIEW
NOVEMBER/DECEMBER 2007 • VOLUME 18 • NUMBER 6 • $4.95

The GOP presidential sweepstakes

Back my man

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NOVEMBER/DECEMBER 2007 • VOLUME 18 • NUMBER 6

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CORRESPONDENCE

Arnold *on* to something?

Re: "Arnold and the 'yes, but' party" (William E. Saracino, *CPR Online*, Sept. 13, 2007), I should say first that I am a lifelong "progressive Republican" that watched in dismay as the Dixiecrats and the fundamentalist Christians hijacked our Party and turned it into something totally alien to longtime Republican principles. Governor Schwarzenegger has it right when he looks to change the GOP. Mr. Saracino and his crowd apparently enjoy a permanent minority status. If the two-third vote on money bills is ever modified or eliminated, Republicans will become totally irrelevant and they might as well stay home for all they can do at the Capitol. It is also obvious that a conservative Republican cannot get elected governor. The Republican platform is out of sync with the voters. If the state GOP entertains any hope of a return to power, they have to move significantly towards the center or even left center.

James G. Updegraff
Sacramento

Mr. Saracino responds:

Mr. Updegraff conveniently neglects addressing any of the points I raise in my column. The most important of which was that the "yes, but" GOP was a congressional minority for 40 years until the "extremists" under Newt Gingrich changed the Party's image and message. Newt's bold — and very conservative — Contract with America accomplished in one year what the "yes, buts" had failed to do in 40: win a congressional majority.

There was indeed a permanent GOP minority in this country — it was made up of progressive, "yes, but" Republicans like Charles Halleck, Gerald Ford, and Bob Michel. Like the governor, these were all good men and would make fine neighbors, but were flops as GOP leaders, because they were afraid of confrontation with the Democrats.

The immigration roundtable

Joe California Farmer reports that his employees, all church-going, upright family men, are using other people's Social Security numbers. Does he realize that because of this, they

(please turn to page 11)

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION, 10/9/07

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B3. Paid circulation, non-USPS distribution	339	1000
B4. Other paid, mail circulation	20	0
C. Total paid circulation	1728	2213
D1. Out-of-County free distribution periodicals mail	287	304
D2. In County free distribution periodicals mail	57	57
D3. Other free distribution by mail	0	0
E. Free distribution, not mail	27	50
F. Total free distribution	371	411
G. Total distribution	2099	2624
H. Copies not distributed	234	376
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I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete. John Kurzweil, Editor

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SACRAMENTO SPECTATOR

When the Circus — as in state Legislature — is out of town, Sacramento is actually a fine place to live and spend time. All the normal attractions and good weather are here, but the flies-in-the-ointment (or you-know-whats in the punch bowl) are gone.

The main political action of note has been the governor vetoing or signing last minute legislation. And per the "post-partisan" *persona* that he has adopted (at least for now), that process leaned substantially to the left.

On the good side of the balance he vetoed all of what the California Chamber of Commerce described as "job killer" bills. This can be said, of course, only because the Chamber neglected to include on that list the multitude of eco-freak "green" bills that the governor either sponsored or signed. The long-term harm these bills will do to business in California could well turn out to be greater than that of anything the governor vetoed on the Chamber's list. But I'll leave that point to pursue in another column.

Schwarzenegger also vetoed a bill that would have given state aid to illegal immigrants enrolled in state colleges or universities. Given his current mania never to offend anyone on the left, it's no surprise that his expressed reason for vetoing the bill skipped right over its main flaw.

In his veto message, Ahnolt (quite correctly) says that California can't *afford* to give college aid to illegals. What he *should* have said is that even when California *can* afford it we still won't do it because people here illegally shouldn't be rewarded for breaking our laws. But ... that would be oh,

so distressingly "pre-post-partisan."

He signed a whole slew of nanny-state bills, ranging from regulating smoking in your private car to outlawing non-fluorescent light bulbs in four years. This last bill, mandating only compact fluorescent light bulbs in California, will soon present our green-green governor with a conundrum. Those bulbs contain mercury. State law forbids depositing either mercury, or anything containing mercury, in California landfills. So — other than using them to help us darn socks — just what are we supposed to do with them once they burn out?

But what is reality compared to international fame as a green crusader? After all, Al Gore just copped a Nobel Prize by proving himself to be as blithering as a U.N. bureaucrat. And, anyway, the governor and his handlers plan for him to be long gone by the time these chickens come home to roost. They plan to have him in the U.S. senate, having defeated Barbara Boxer next time she's up, by then. Your *Spectator,* however, picked up a juicy bit of gossip regarding that election the other evening at a saloon catering to politicos-in-the-know.

Seems that the state Libertarian Party is negotiating seriously with a well-known former Republican office holder on the subject of his switching parties to run as a Libertarian against Boxer and Schwarzenegger. The ultimate goal would be to repeat Jim Buckley's 1970 election (as the Conservative Party nominee) to the U.S. Senate from New York. A secondary, but apparently acceptable, goal would be to defeat the governor, thereby, presumably, burying "post-partisanship" permanently.

Your *Spectator* takes no position on these matters ... he merely faithfully frequents the capital's trendy spots in search of news, then reports such to his information-hungry public. To coin a phrase, your *Spectator* reports: *you* decide.

— *A.P.C.*

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The Working Press

Who needs the 'he said, she said' of scientific debate?

An L.A. Times Pulitzer Prize reporter's curious notions about 'reporting' on the environment.

GEORGE NEUMAYR

MAJOR MEDIA reporters and editors usually say they approach opinions impartially, giving "both sides of the story" and merely reporting opinions, not favoring or even distinguishing among them. This stance is transparent nonsense. In reality, these reporters and editors magisterially decide which "experts" deserve to opine in their stories and invariably the opinions they select fall on the liberal side of the spectrum. The sources they choose to represent the "conservative side" are usually not particularly conservative, and that serves the purposes of the major media nicely by ensuring that debates slide ever leftward.

Kenneth Weiss is a *Los Angeles Times* reporter who covers the environment. He did that scintillating series on the deterioration of the world's oceans that wowed the Pulitzer Prize Committee. In an October interview with *PRWeek*, Weiss suspended the above-mentioned charade and bluntly said that "one thing that I've learned is that all opinions are not created equal."

So, even Pulitzer Prize-grade reporters sift and grade what they hear, choosing what they consider to be the "better" opinions. But how do they do that non-ideologically? That subject is rarely broached. But surely the reporter must apply *some* criteria, *some* philosophical standards, when separating the more worthy opinions from the less. How else could "all opinions are not created equal" become a quotable principle for Mr. Weiss? In his own case, for instance, Weiss has decided that the opinions of "scientists" who agree with the theses of the environmentalist movement are so stupendously wise that he needn't expose his readers to the opinions of scientists who *don't* adhere to that "consensus."

Asked by *PRWeek* — "How do you avoid falling into the pro *vs.* con rut with environmental issues?" — he responsed: "For the [oceans] series I just stripped away all that 'he said, she said,' because there wasn't room, and also because I think the reader turns off very quickly when they get that. They just throw up their hands and say this is all so confusing, why should I pay attention to this?" So Weiss will decide the truth for his readers — remember, this fellow is supposed to be in some sense a "science" correspondent, one for whom scientific debate is just that same ol', same ol', "he said, she said" stuff, tediously reminiscent of the endless squabbling charges and counter-charges thrown back and forth in divorce court.

WELL, AT least he is being honest about his reporting, if not about the environment. Would that more liberal reporters just came out and said they are in the business of deciding which opinions readers should hear. Not that Weiss is *entirely* alone in owning up to the belief that reporters should recognize some opinions as more equal than others. I once heard Jacob Weisberg of *Slate.com*, while appearing at a media forum aired on C-SPAN, say that major newspapers should never quote proponents of Intelligent Design in their coverage of debates over evolution. To do so, he said, is the equivalent of treating the opinions of segregationists with deference in stories about civil rights. Why, he said, give bad opinions "equal time"?

Los Angeles Times Editor Jim O'Shea continues to disseminate memos on the paper's sagging fortunes. The staff memos, which *Laobserved.com* methodically culls, appeared to represent the paper's deep thinking on its

George Neumayr is California Political Review's *press critic.*

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THE FRONT LINE

Islamo-fascism Awareness Week (Oct. 22 to 26), sponsored by the **David Horowitz Freedom Center** *[horowitzfreedomcenter.org]* and supported by student activists across America, and **Capitol Resource Family Impact**'s launching of a referendum campaign *[http://saveourkids.net]* against Senate Bill 777, **Sheila Kuehl's** assault (fully supported by new-left Gov. **Arnold Schwarzenegger**) on the free speech rights, not to mention the sanity, of California's long-suffering public school students. Both events show California grass roots conservative activism at its best: as a vibrant force for freedom.

Horowitz, working with hundreds of student activists at more than 100 campuses nationally, spurred interest, discussion, thought, and (from the fascist left) tyrannical reaction. California was well represented in the program with events scheduled at USC, UCLA, UC Berkeley, UC Santa Barbara, San Francisco State, San Diego State, and Pepperdine.

Best-selling author **Ann Coulter** (*If Democrats had any brains, they'd be Republicans* is Ann's current book, typically titled to infuriate lefties) addressed some 225 students who filled USC's Annenberg Auditorium (in the University's communications school), along with hundreds more in an overflow crowd watching her on closed-circuit TV outside. At Cal Berkeley, **Nonie Darwish,** an Arab woman, told students that Islamo-fascism is an "ideology of violence and hatred" — and then had her point illustrated, punctuated, and proven by obligingly loud, foul-mouthed leftists who paraded through and around the event providing excellent Stalinist/Hitlerite/Baathist models of thuggery.

We set out," Mr. Horowitz wrote in his blog, "to start a discussion about Islamo-Fascism and the oppression of women in Islam (and the deafening silence of Women's

Studies Departments over that oppression) and we have done just that. On 114 campuses and in the national press, on national TV, and across the Internet and the talk-radio network, people are talking about Islamo-fascism and the oppression of women in Islam and the silence of Women's Studies departments about that oppression (*e.g.*, 383,000 web references and counting.)"

California's increasingly strident anti-family governor signed SB 777: a thought-control bill similar to last year's S.B. 1437, also by Kuehl, that the governor vetoed. 777 says "no teacher shall give instruction nor shall a school district sponsor any activity that promotes a discriminatory bias because" of homosexuality, transsexuality, bisexuality or transgender status. For the left, and the courts, and the major media, to disagree about a principle or idea is construed as an attack on any people who profess the principle or live by the idea. Thus if you say homosexuality is immoral you are supposed to be attacking Sheila Kuehl personally, along with anyone else she claims to speak for, and she wants to be able to gag you for it. (Of course, if she says Christianity is immoral, well, that's merely an exercise in free speech.)

For once, pro-family conservatives are doing something concrete to oppose this fever-swamp extremism. Go to *Saveourkids.net* for more information about helping overturn the new Kuehl-Schwarzenegger Axis of Intolerance. And please ignore the defeatism about this noble effort emanating from the George B. McClellan contingent of the social issues conservative movement. Like the good general who drove Lincoln crazy by never being quite ready to fight, a subsection of the pro-family movement seems always ready to pull the plug on any political action as being too soon or too late, too little or too much. The schools have been pulled apart little by little; they will be restored the same way — just what Islamo-Fascism Awareness Week and CRFI's SB 777 Referendum project are doing. Good for them. CFR

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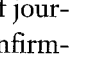
circulation problems. The mulling entails a lot of talk about the paper's "insular" culture, alongside almost none about its ideological one. Could it be that an all-liberal staff makes a paper "insular"? No, no, that couldn't be it. The problem must lie elsewhere.

MEDIA CRITIC Bernard Goldberg suggests that floundering media outlets start affirmative action programs for conservative journalists. But don't expect that any time soon. In June, MSNBC reported a list of journalists who have given to political campaigns, confirming once again that most reporters are in the tank for the Democrat Party. Several *L.A. Times* staffers turned up on the list. Design editor Nick Cuccia gave John Kerry $2000. Former *Times* film critic Manohla Dargis gave money to Howard Dean, Ralph Nader, and John Kerry. Pulitzer-Prize winner Dan Neil gave to the Democratic National Committee.

Any Republican donations? Yes, very troublingly, food writer Charles Perry gave $200 to the Republican National Committee. But not to worry, liberals. He assured MSNBC that his Republican views won't infect the paper's political coverage: "I'm a food and drink writer, not a news reporter. I have always felt there was no problem with contributing to my Party because Food is a non-political section (could I somehow smear Democrat beers and whitewash Republican ones?). Therefore I felt my political contributions could scarcely discredit my writing, or my employer."



Dan Rather once hosted a Democrat Party fundraiser in Travis County, Texas. After it caused some controversy, he claimed ignorance of the event's purpose. He said he had no idea it was a Democrat Party fundraising event. "I didn't ask the question, and I should have," he said. His fabled reporting instincts had failed him. But somehow the committee that organized the event (the group included his daughter Robin) had no trouble seeing him in the role of fundraiser for Democrats.

But now we know, by Rather's own admission, that

WHAT YOU HAVEN'T BEEN TOLD ABOUT GUN CONTROL

By SAM PAREDES

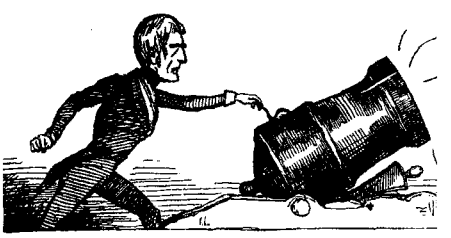
Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger — in a deft about-face (a maneuver he executes more nimbly with each passing day) — just signed two terrible anti-gun, anti-hunter bills. The governor owns a vast, highly valuable gun collection, and, until recently, wisely vetoed most of the anti-freedom gun laws to hit his desk. But now, "blow-with-the-wind" Schwarzenegger must find it opportune to jump several giant steps to his left (after all, *his* guns won't be touched), and, well, the people can eat cake.

The bills: AB 1471 (Feuer-D) the micro-stamping bill, and AB 821 (Nava-D) banning use of ammunition containing lead in the so-called California Condor range.

Item: Schwarzenegger knows AB 1471 is absurdly flawed — his own administration told him so and he admitted it in his signing message.

Item: He knows that virtually all semiautomatic handgun manufacturers have said they cannot comply with the new law and, so, will simply stop selling in California, even to law enforcement.

Item: He thus knows that this *de facto* ban on new California semiautomatic handgun sales will only hurt law-abiding citizens. This man used to trumpet Milton Friedman's *Free to Choose;* he just never said that the freedom was for himself alone.



Siding with the nation's most strident anti-gun enviro-extremists, Schwarzenegger also signed the ammo-containing-lead ban in the Condor range (about a tenth of California's huntable area). Lending a surreal touch to this signing, the governor opposed the bill all through the legislative process, his administration indicating the issue should be decided by his Fish and Game Commission on a scientific basis, not through legislative politics.

By the way, the Audubon Society (a front for many radical enviros), hired Schwarzenegger consultant Marty Wilson, apparently to whisper in the gov's ear — another lesson in "big tent" Republicanism. Whisper this Marty: when the governor runs for the U.S. Senate, he'll learn pro-gun Californians don't forget. Gun Owners of California will make sure they don't. CPR

Sam Paredes is executive director of Gun Owners of California.

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lying was by no means considered out-of-bounds when caught in such controversies. According to his $70 million lawsuit against his former employer — which charges that CBS forced him out of his job early and made him the scapegoat for its notoriously faked-up story about George Bush's National Guard service — Rather says he lied at the network's prodding. CBS wanted him to apologize for the National Guard story, and he went along with it, reading a statement scribbled out by a corporate publicist, though "I didn't think we should apologize." He also calls the investigation into the debacle — which, with Politburo-style efficiency, cleared CBS of political bias but acknowledged sloppiness due to competitive pressures — was a "fraud." (Such was the investigation's rigor that Rather's mere denial of bias and his many decades of non-partisan journalism were adduced by CBS as convincing evidence of the story's bias-free character.)

Rather, meanwhile, still insists that the report itself wasn't a lie. He stands by the forged documents; the search for the typewriter that magically produced them goes on. Then again, perhaps the self-confessed liar hasn't stopped lying. After all, his understanding of "truthfulness" is anything but stringent. He once defended Bill Clinton as an "honest man," saying that "I think you can be an honest person and lie about any number of things" — such as, say, forged documents, eh, Dan?

Recall that in the course of defending his National Guard report, he emphasized that it contained a "fundamental truth" about George Bush, implying that the forgeries, while not literally true, kicked loose a general truth about his evasion of duty. Rather used the secretary of Bush's commanding officer to try and buttress this defense. As one headline put it after his interview with her, "Memos on Bush Are Fake but Accurate, Typist Says."

Fake but Accurate — it could be the motto for America's post-modern media, except that it is hardly unprecedented. British journalist Malcolm Muggerridge once reminisced about western foreign correspondents covering Moscow during the heady 1930s proudly whipping up tales of Stakanovite production breakthroughs and economic miracles in Stalin's progressive paradise. One day, a reporter paused while reading his own dispatches to remark, perhaps a bit wistfully, that "it's all true ... except the facts."

In the course of defending in court the British soldiers charged after the Boston Massacre, then future-president John Adams remarked that "facts are stubborn things." Well, I guess we know what would happen if Mr. Adams with such backward notions applied to report for the *L.A. Times* or CBS News. But when, really, has American liberalism, relativist to the core, ever had any truck with the stubborn, stuffy, narrow-minded proposition that truth matters? CPR

The Law

Property rights mean the right to say *no*

The city of Flagstaff has decided simply to ignore Arizona's compensation law.

TIMOTHY SANDEFUR

One thing everybody understands about property rights is the option to say "no." If you own something and someone wants it, you have the right to refuse. That's what gives property rights their meaning: instead of taking things from each other, people must negotiate and find mutually acceptable bargains.

Unfortunately, government officials often think they don't have to follow this rule. They can bludgeon prop-

Timothy Sandefur is a Pacific Legal Foundation staff attorney. Author of Cornerstone of Liberty: Property Rights in 21st Century America *(Cato Institute, 2006), he represents the Flagstaff homeowners in their lawsuit against the city.*

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erty owners through regulations that effectively destroy their property's value, an abuse that is as great a violation of ownership rights as an outright taking. That's why the Arizona Constitution declares that government must pay people "just compensation" when it takes away their property rights. It's why the state's voters approved Proposition 207 by a two-thirds landslide vote last year. That initiative reiterates that when the government takes away the value of property — by restricting its use — it must pay for that taking.

Proposition 207, and its Oregon predecessor, Measure 37, are controversial because bureaucrats are eager to find ways to restrict property rights without compensating property owners, as they would have to if they took the land outright. To compensate owners would inevitably require politically unpopular tax increases, so officials want to find ways of shifting the economic burdens of their policies onto individual landowners who lack the political influence to defend themselves. Alas, thanks to precedents established by the U.S. Supreme Court and by the courts of most states, these officials are allowed to impose extremely severe regulatory burdens on property without having to pay owners a dime. This has created a perverse incentive for regulators to impose ever more restrictive land-use laws, while avoiding outright condemnation. And the cost of such policies is borne mostly by first-time home buyers who find that government has made it nearly impossible to construct new homes, and thus increased the prices of existing homes tremendously. In some California urban areas, the increased cost of a home due to such regulatory burdens runs to six figures.

But one wouldn't expect the regulators simply to obey new laws that require them to pay landowners whose property is, in effect, confiscated. Instead, they try to find ways around these requirements, or they simply ignore them. Shortly after Prop. 207 was enacted, several Arizona cities began requiring property owners who asked for building permits to sign waivers giving up any right ever to sue under the initiative. After the property owners threatened to sue, the cities backed down. But the north-state city of Flagstaff has decided simply to ignore the compensation requirement, launching a test case under Proposition 207.

Flagstaff recently passed severe new building restrictions on a section of one neighborhood that bureaucrats call "historic." Carefully drawing the boundaries of the new district to avoid touching the city's own his-

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toric properties, city officials decided that nobody within this section may have a structure taller than 25 feet high or having a roof that slopes at less than a 45 degree angle. In addition, the ordinance dictates what building materials and architectural styles can be used and requires anyone who wants to renovate a home to get permission from a new government committee.

THESE RESTRICTIONS have shut down the plans of several neighborhood residents who intended to renovate their properties. Jon Regner, for example, who works as a city firefighter, bought his small house last year intending to renovate it and the structure behind it, and then rent them out for extra income. The bureaucrats erased those plans with a single stroke of the pen, and, since then, have refused even to respond to Regner's letters requesting compensation. So Regner has responded by filing a lawsuit under Proposition 207, demanding the payment to which he is entitled. It is the first lawsuit to be filed under the new initiative.

Government planners think they — not homeowners or consumers — should be able to declare what land uses are appropriate for a community. They argue that they should not have to compensate property owners because the compensation requirement stifles "democracy." But that charge gets democracy entirely backwards. It exists to protect our liberty, not the other way around. When democracy trumps liberty, the result is the tyranny of the mob. We don't let majorities — or the bureaucrats who say they represent the majority — tell us how we may speak or pray. The same is true of property rights. As Supreme Court Justice Robert Jackson once wrote, "One's right to life, liberty, and property ... and other fundamental rights may not be submitted to vote; they depend on the outcome of no elections."

Even more shocking, judges have routinely ignored constitutional protections for property rights simply because respecting those rights would cost money. In 2001, the U.S. Supreme Court refused to compensate a group of property owners who had been barred from constructing virtually anything on their land for more than 20 years. The reason, wrote Justice John Paul Stevens, was that "a rule that required compensation for every delay in the use of property would render routine government processes prohibitively expensive." In other words, if government can't afford something, it should just take it without paying for it.

If the arguments against compensating people for regulatory burdens had any weight, they would apply with even more force to outright takings through eminent domain. If paying landowners for restricting their property rights hampers democracy, so does the requirement for compensation when the government actually physically seizes the land. And if democracy means government may dictate to us how we may exercise the right to use land, then surely it also means government shouldn't have to pay when it seizes a home to build a Costco or a Home Depot. Yet nobody would seriously argue that the compensation requirement is inapplicable to such takings, because we recognize that the right to own and to use our land is one of the "blessings of liberty" that government exists to secure.

BY OVERWHELMINGLY passing Prop. 207, Arizona's voters rejected the immoral notion that government may simply take away our property rights for free. They reiterated that government must not take things from people without offering a fair exchange. It's time all bureaucrats realized that their job is to protect, not to manipulate, our rights — particularly our right to say "no." CPR

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Business Trends

CARB rules reveal GW juggernaut's destructiveness

Business counter-attack must include real political muscle to succeed.

GREGORY SANFORD

CALIFORNIA'S BUSINESS community is showing admirable stamina against the just-beginning new onslaught of anti-freedom bureaucracy — the old socialist nightmare — flying under today's excuse *du jour*, Global Warming. Large, potentially powerful coalitions are forming and acting to resist the radical politicization of the economy that their opponents envision for our utopian future. Now, as always, the left-wing socialist vision, to the extent it is realized, will bring economic dislocation — how could it not? it's whole point is to substitute political for economic criteria as the basis for making decisions about using our resources. The dislocation will bring economic breakdown, failing businesses, people out of work, increasing poverty — just every little thing a good socialist could want to spook people into supporting yet more bureaucratic control.

But, as I say, we're beginning to see some fighting back. For instance, more than two dozen construction industry trade organizations, including construction labor unions, have formed the Coalition to Build a Cleaner California. The new group opposes draconian new California Air Resources Board (CARB) rules for off-road diesel construction equipment (*See* the group's statement at: www.ciaqc.com). According to press reports, CARB's rules will force "construction firms and other companies to spend billions on new vehicles or engine retrofits." Gordon Downs, owner of Bakersfield's Downs Equipment Rental, pointed out the injustice of singling out particular businesses to cover the costs of laws enacted to benefit the whole state. Calculating that the regs will take more than $2 million from his company the first year, he said "our industry has done nothing wrong. Why are we being punished by the very state we helped to build?"

Why, indeed? Well, actually, the answer is relatively simple: because they can get away with it. For all its laudable organizing effort and determination to fight, this construction industry response to the Democrats' new socialism is woefully inadequate. Mainly a lobbying operation, I fear it will prove largely useless without a no-nonsense political plan to complement it. Lobbying makes the case in fairness and common sense, but, by itself, ignores the manifest truth that many of the people behind this attack on Mr. Down's industry *are not interested* either in fairness or common sense.

Shocking, I know, but actually not too surprising. After all, most of the affected businessmen and women are themselves not interested in the broad scope of California political policy, or even of the state economy or of their own industry, except insofar as it affects them personally. We are all human beings trying to get through life in our own worlds — even those office holders and bureaucrats and journalists and other assorted hangers-on inhabiting California's political structure. A lot of office holders, even Democrats — giving them the benefit of the doubt — wish us all well, but when it comes down to facing, on one hand, the threat of, say, Sierra Club opposition in the next election, with all the free press support the Sierra folks can count on from our major biased media, and, on the other, worrying about fairness for businesses like Mr. Downs', the public official, being human, is going to think about his re-election and let Mr. Downs fend for himself.

In addition to this, there is the left-wing zealotry of the few fanatics who control California's Democrat

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Frequent CPR *contributor Gregory Sanford is a freelance writer living in Southern California.*

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Party. Mr. Downs may think he merely has run up against some mistake, some aberrational malfunction of a well-meaning government that can be fixed merely by informing the right people of the truth of the matter.

If he does, then he, not government, is mistaken. The few at the top of the Donkey Party believe passionately that the future, containing all our hopes, depends absolutely upon gaining total power to order humanity according to their vision. Yes, they talk about compassion and justice and so forth. Of course: that's just good politics. But occasionally the truth surfaces. A good indication of the thinking at work behind, for instance, the current Global Warming hoax, was revealed in, of all things, a 1997 *New York Times* article on HOV (high occupancy vehicle) freeway lanes ("diamond lanes"). "Even planners admit that HOV lanes don't really ease congestion," the *Times* reported, "except marginally for the relatively few who use them. As early as 1976, when HOV lanes coming [*sic*] to California freeways, the writer Joan Didion interviewed planners who conceded that *the idea was punitive*, rather than ameliorative, in nature: 'A process of deliberately making it harder for drivers to use freeways,' a state planner said, adding, 'We are prepared to endure considerable outcry in order to pry John Q. Public out of his car.'" *[emphasis added]*

Construction industry folks must back up their lobbying with political muscle capable of taking out office holders who violate their interests. That's what politics is all about. Democrats do it all the time: see how public employee unions, the trial lawyers, the ideological crazies — *all* their constituencies — handle political "difficulties." When business realizes it is up against serious people who mean to take everything they can get from anyone who can't stop them, and then decides to fight force with force, all that lobbying will pay off, but not before. CPR

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

are all identity thieves? If any of these men miss a car payment, bounce a check, or apply for too many credit cards, it will not harm their credit ratings, but those of the people whose Social Security numbers they have stolen. I now see why Mr. Farmer decided to remain anonymous.

As to his problem of replacing illegal immigrants with California natives, perhaps he should not seek replacements among college students with bright futures of six-figure incomes after graduation. Perhaps he should seek them among the poor, if he can afford to pay full minimum wage along with payroll taxes and other deductions, and if the paychecks he issues can compete with their welfare checks.

Norman Hines
Lancaster

Joe California Farmer responds:

The identity theft charge is a red herring. The workers who are using the "mismatched" social security numbers do not want to do anything to draw attention to themselves. Any action by them to create a problem for the true owner of the Social Security number would give the authorities a reason to track down the undocumented worker. Remember, the authorities know where the undocumented workers are working. The employer does not know if the social security number belongs to anyone else. He only knows that the name and number reported to the IRS on the tax forms does not exactly match up with what the IRS has recorded for that number. The IRS itself reports that there are millions of legal U.S. citizens who have mismatches between their tax return name and the IRS registered Social Security number.

As for the college kid argument, the U.S. unemployment rate is somewhere around 4 percent. Historically that is full employment — anyone with proper documentation and a willingness to work can get a job.

If there are 150 million people working in America and the unemployment rate is 4 percent, that means something like 6 million people are unemployed. Estimates of undocumented workers in America say they total something like 12 million. Even if all the nation's 6 million unemployed were willing to do farm work, they'd be too few to fill the jobs. The pay on the farm is higher than minimum wage. You would think that students attending an agriculture college, majoring in agriculture, would be interested in working on a farm during their college years, but unfortunately, that has not been my experience. CPR

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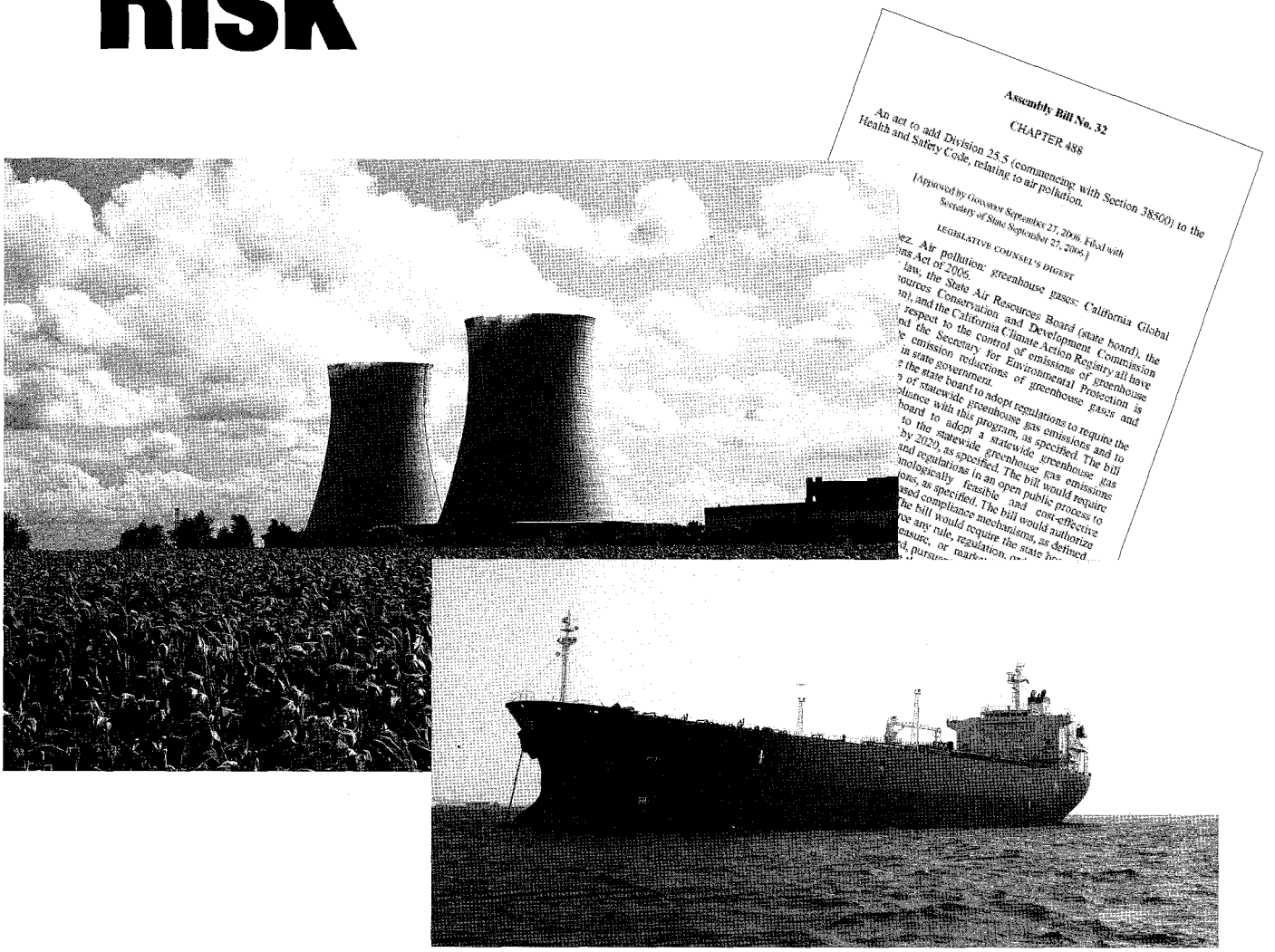
Relative Risk


Assembly Bill No. 32
CHAPTER 488
An act to add Division 25.5 (commencing with Section 38500) to the Health and Safety Code, relating to air pollution.
[Approved by Governor September 27, 2006. Filed with Secretary of State September 27, 2006.]
LEGISLATIVE COUNSEL'S DIGEST
Air pollution: greenhouse gases: California Global
Act of 2006.
law, the State Air Resources Board (state board), the
and the California Climate Action Registry all have
respect to the control of emissions of greenhouse
the Secretary for Environmental Protection is
emission reductions of greenhouse gases and
in state government.
the state board to adopt regulations to require the
of statewide greenhouse gas emissions and to
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board to adopt a statewide greenhouse gas
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Nuclear power's time has come

by Chuck DeVore

Commenting recently about global warming, the president of Stanford University, John Hennessy, said, "Nuclear power has to be part of the solution. Can we really understand the notion of risk? Nuclear plants *versus* carbon emissions — which will kill and has killed more people?" To this we should append a question about

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Chuck DeVore (R-Irvine) represents California's 70th state Assembly District. He authored The California Energy Independence and Zero Carbon Dioxide Emission Electrical Generation Act of 2008, now gathering signatures (see: www.PowerForCalifornia.com).

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the relative risk of America's reliance on imported fossil fuels *vs.* nuclear power.

Understanding relative risk is at the crux of America's current debate over a revival of nuclear power. "Nuclear power is dangerous," say the critics. "Dangerous compared to what?" should be the reply.

All power comes with risks. Coal mining turns deadly with tearful frequency, while burning coal releases thousands of tons of radioactive particles, damages the lungs of tens of thousands of people a year, and releases billions of tons of carbon dioxide. Natural gas presents a somewhat lesser carbon problem than coal; but it explodes, killing people regularly. Hydroelectric dams can burst and drown thousands; they may also damage fisheries and inundate large swaths of carbon-impounding forests. Wind power consumes ten times the amount of cement and steel, killing raptors and bats in the process, to produce — when the wind is blowing — the same amount of power as does nuclear. Photovoltaics are made with toxic materials such as arsenic and mercury, are expensive, and wear out more quickly than other means of making power. Because of their capricious nature, solar and wind also require the construction and maintenance of backup power plants, typically powered by natural gas, to ensure grid reliability.

Then there's nuclear.

America's 104 nuclear reactors produce about 20 percent of our nation's electricity. Over the next two years, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission expects applications to build 19 new reactors — the first applications in 30 years were recently received by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission to build a reactor in Maryland and two in Texas.

In spite of a U.S. nuclear energy safety record that would be the envy of the coal, gas, or oil industries, the future of nuclear power is clouded by split public opinion, the majority of which unrealistically sees wind and solar as both reliable and affordable mainstays of the U.S. power grid. Good intentions from politicians and wishful thinking from the public will not power the grid, however.

Nowhere in America is this more apparent than in California where 54 percent of residents recently told the Public Policy Institute that "global warming poses a very serious threat to the state's future economy and quality of life."

Over the next two years, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission expects applications to build 19 new reactors — the first applications in 30 years were recently received to build a reactor in Maryland and two in Texas.

Last year, in response to the public's desire to "do something," the California Legislature passed, and Governor Schwarzenegger signed, a sweeping greenhouse gas law (AB 32) that mandates a 25 percent reduction in greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions by 2020 — all while the state's population is projected to grow 20 percent, to 44 million people. A separate California law passed last year phases out the use of conventional coal power over 20 years. Coal provides about 16 to 20 percent of California's power.

Implementing these laws while growing the state economy may prove Californians right for the wrong reason when they agreed that, "global warming poses a very serious threat to the state's future economy ...."

The transportation sector produces 51 percent of California's GHG emissions. Short of using government edicts to alter people's lives radically, the only way to reduce these emissions significantly is to offload them on an expanded and cleaner electrical sector. When electricity is affordable, this can be done with electric and hydrogen-powered vehicles at costs competitive with gasoline and diesel.

Electrical generation accounts for 20 percent of California's GHG emissions. More than half of these emissions come from burning natural gas, which provides 42 percent of California's electricity. Yet reducing California's dependence on natural gas, which increasingly is imported from abroad, will be impossible without a major change in state energy policy.

California law favors wind, solar, biomass, geothermal, and small hydroelectric, but they are costly or

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unreliable and do not make much of a dent, if any, in GHG emissions. That leaves nuclear power as the sole source of power that is scalable, reliable, and affordable, with each new reactor saving about $1 billion in natural gas per year and about 8 million metric tons of GHG emissions.

Yet, any discussion about nuclear power immediately turns to the question of what to do about storing the radioactive material created in power generation. And there it stops. Environmental groups intone, "We wouldn't be opposed to nuclear power if the waste issue could be solved." But this issue will never be solved to their satisfaction. Due to old Cold War prejudices, the American left also opposes reprocessing spent fuel to extract plutonium and usable uranium as the French do. Reprocessing reduces the amount of nuclear material requiring storage by 96 percent and renders the remaining material far less radioactive over the long term, largely solving the long-term waste storage challenge.

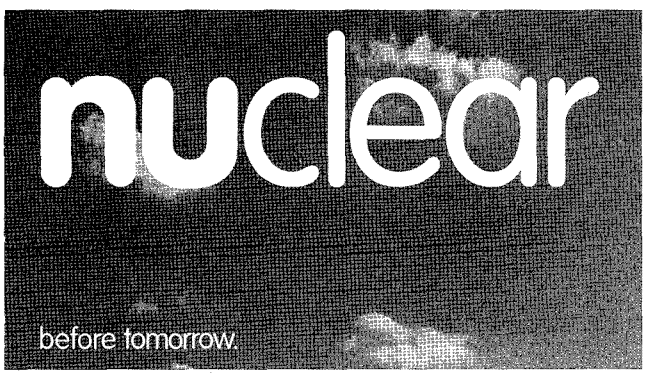
Standing in the way of meeting California's GHG emissions ambitions is a 31-year nuclear power ban signed into law by then-Governor Jerry Brown (now California attorney general). The law, passed in 1976 — soon after voters overwhelmingly rejected a ballot initiative to make the state nuclear free — prevents the approval of new nuclear power plants by the California Energy Commission (CEC) until a long-term storage method or place for spent fuel rods is approved by the federal government. Even if the CEC does certify that a way to dispose of spent fuel is in place, the Legislature may still overturn the CEC's findings. The likelihood is slim to none that the current Legislature will ever repeal the nuclear power ban or even agree with an affirmative CEC finding that would permit the construction of a new nuclear power plant in California. But, unless this law is repealed soon enough to allow nuclear power plants to be licensed and constructed, a six- to eight-year process, then California is destined to fail in its attempts to lead by example on the global warming front.

With the Legislature standing in the way, the only other route to lifting the ban would be an initiative. California opinion polls show likely voters evenly divided on the question of nuclear power, opening the way for a ballot initiative, if not in 2008, then in the near future as electricity rate increases caused by soaring natural gas prices and increasing reliance on expensive solar thermal energy causes California voters to feel the pain of their politicians' political decisions.

The electrical rate increases are already in the pipeline. The Los Angeles Department of Water and Power approved a 9 percent electricity base rate hike, its first in 17 years, hitting the average-sized business with an added monthly cost of $1,043. Northern California's Pacific Gas and Electric (PG&E) will increase residential electricity rates 4.1 percent in January. Southern California Edison (SCE) increased rates by about 15 percent in early 2006, due mainly to increasing natural gas prices.

Rather than take on the legislative left by working to lift California's nuclear ban, California's large electric utilities may try to build nuclear plants out of state. This would require California's ratepayers to pay a premium to secure out of state political approval to construct the plants and to build the needed power lines. Further, long distance power transmission incurs greater energy loss due to line resistance, typically more than doubling the lost electricity from about six percent to as much as 15 percent. In addition, California would lose good paying jobs and a considerable tax base. In short, for every reactor built out of state, we could build about two in state for the same cost.

California is a trendsetter. We have already taken action, (some would say hastily) on the issue of global warming. What if Californians took the next step and actually voted for nuclear power to combat global warming, reduce reliance on imported fossil fuels, and provide reliable electricity at affordable costs? CPR



The logo, left, of Oxford Physics Prof. Wade Allison's web site: "A Fresh Look at Nuclear Safety" *[www.physics.ox.ac.uk/nuclearsafety/]* Prof. Allison argues that the 1945 bombing of Hiroshima "created a shockwave in the public understanding of science. To this day a quite exceptional attitude is still taken to the safety of nuclear radiation despite its widespread use in medicine — this is quite unjustifiable. This conclusion, though independent of climate change, is important to the future of civil nuclear power as the carbon-free large-scale answer to the energy problem.

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Imminent peril

A new front in the fight to stop government abuse of eminent domain.

by Jon Coupal

COMING TO THE TOWN WHERE YOU LIVE: Susette Kelo stands before her home — the house her city stole in a theft sanctioned by a renegade Supreme Court.

The fight to bring true property rights protection to all California property owners has begun. Property owners throughout the state are gathering signatures to qualify The California Property Owners & Farmland Protection Act (CPOFPA) for the June 2008 ballot. This effort is headed by Californians for Property Rights Protection (CPRP), a powerful coalition led by the Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association (HJTA), California Farm Bureau Federation, the National Federation of Independent Business, and the California Alliance to Protect Private Property Rights. Additionally, numerous taxpayer groups, elected officials, farmers, ranchers, and victims of eminent domain abuse have come together to support this Constitutional Amendment that will bring real property rights reform for all property owners.

Enacting protections for property owners has became imperative due to the U.S. Supreme Court's infamous 2005 *Kelo v. New London* decision, which concluded that it is constitutionally permissible for government to seize private property and turn it over to other private interests if it can be shown that there is some articulated benefit to the community, including higher tax revenues. But the court's ruling was based on an alleged violation of the United States Constitution and the justices noted that additional property owner protections could be established by the states. This led to a flurry of legislative activity across the country as more than 40 states passed measures limiting the use of eminent domain to legitimate governmental purposes such as building schools and roads. Unfortunately, in California, attempts through both the Legislature and the ballot box have been blocked by those who benefit from the current system that allows officials to take land from unwilling sellers and turn it over to other private interests, who are often political supporters.

Opponents of property rights will attempt to characterize the current effort as the "Son of Prop. 90," referring to last November's failed effort to address eminent domain abuse in California. But the CPOFPA is markedly different from Proposition 90. While 90 would indeed have outlawed "Kelo takings," it also delved into the area of "regulatory" takings. Regulatory takings are government action — short of actually acquiring title to the property — that significantly reduce the property's value. It is a complex area of law and Prop. 90's opponents were able to convince voters that the initiative went too far.

In any event, despite a huge funding advantage and a well-executed campaign, Prop. 90's opponents barely squeaked out a victory. Subsequent polling suggests that Californians still want some protection against government from abusing their property rights. In response to this potential unhindered abuse of government power,

Jon Coupal is president of the Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association — California's largest taxpayer organization — which is dedicated to the protection of Proposition 13 and promoting taxpayers' rights. For information, to endorse the measure, or order petitions, see: www.yesonpropertyrights.com

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the CPOFPA was introduced. This ballot measure would protect all owner occupied and rental homes, farmland, businesses, and places of worship from being taken for private use. Property could still be taken for such public uses as roads, schools, or water projects.

While the CPOFPA does not address regulatory takings *per se*, it is important to note that the Act would, over time, phase out laws that regulate the price at which property is either sold or leased. (Indeed, several legal commentaries have likened sales and lease price controls, given their especially draconian nature, to physical, not regulatory, takings).

While our opponents have accused us of trying to abolish rent control, the fact is that price control regulations — unlike run of the mill zoning, land use planning, and other less harmful restrictions — are horribly damaging to a host of property owners. Price controls are fundamentally unfair: local governments should not be permitted to set the price for which homeowners choose to rent or lease their home. As a property owner, you should have the right to decide how much to charge to lease your property. Individuals can then choose if they want to pay the asking price.

Beyond the simple fairness issue, there is another good reason to phase out sales and lease price restrictions. These regulations are based on a falsehood; specifically, that rent and price controls are needed to assure affordable housing. But if affordable housing is the goal, then rent control simply does not work. Like all other price controls, rent regulations bring less, not more, affordable housing. This is simple Economics 101. When government sets price controls on anything, we get less of it. This applies to gasoline and it applies to affordable housing.

The elimination of price controls will foster both the creation of new affordable housing — it now becomes an attractive investment — as well as better maintenance of existing affordable housing.

Further, the CPOFPA does nothing to stop government from assisting low income citizens to secure shelter. It would, however, bring to an end a system that discriminates against one class of citizen — property owners — to pay for a societal benefit.

Recognizing that the elimination of rent regulations will engender substantial controversy, the proponents of CPOFPA concluded that an equitable means to implement the policy goal was through "permanent vacancy decontrol." Thus, local rent regulations will remain in force for existing tenants, even after the passage of the initiative. But once individual units are vacated, they are permanently decontrolled and rents may be established according to the free market.

The purpose of this "phase out" of price and rent regulations was not only based on equitable concerns, but this also will allow the proponents to claim truthfully during the campaign that no tenant will have their rents increased beyond what they would otherwise see because of the passage of the initiative. Tenant organizations will still surely oppose the measure, but any suggestion that the poor or elderly are going to face evictions *en masse* will be silly.

The CPOFPA would provide real property rights protections to all Californians. Because of that, it also presents a real threat to those who abuse property rights. The California League of Cities and the California Redevelopment Association have openly admitted that they dodged a bullet by the narrow defeat of Proposition 90.

To counter the growing support for CPOFPA — and to sow the seeds of confusion — the League of Cities and redevelopment interests have filed a measure that ostensibly addresses eminent domain abuses. But the Institute for Justice, the organization that represented Susette Kelo before the United States Supreme Court, characterized the League's measure as worse than nothing at all. And the *Orange County Register*, considering CPOFPA alongside the League's measure and its legislative equivalent, characterized the two approaches as "The Real Deal v. The Real Steal."

Next June will be *Kelo's* three-year anniversary. That's three years of property being taken, of homes and livelihoods destroyed, to serve the greedy gain of more tax revenue. As the battle over how best to protect private property is joined, voters will be asking themselves: How much government involvement do we want in one of the most sacred institutions in our democracy: the right to own property? Is it right for those in government to be able to compel private citizens to give up their property to other private interests?

The League of Cities' proposal may find support among special interests, others invested in the *status quo*, and the handful of citizens naïve enough to trust public officials always to do the right thing. But most citizens have had enough negative experiences with government to be more skeptical. And when it comes to protecting the property on which they live, conduct business, or grow crops, property owners will not take any chances. In June 2008 — which, coincidentally, will be Proposition 13's 30th anniversary — Californian voters can take the lead in securing for themselves real, substantial property rights protections by passing the CPOFPA. CPR

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Frankly, I have no conviction, if that is what you mean. I blow with the wind...

Arnold Schwarzenegger

Reviving a classic film role

by John Kurzweil

Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger, addressing September's state Republican Party convention in Indian Wells, delivered a spirited defense of the Captain Renault politics he has practiced since the failure of his 2005 Special Election initiative campaign, even going on the offensive, urging the state Party to emulate him as an archetype, a manifestation of growth in political wisdom. His address itself embodied the very opportunism it advocated, to wit:

First, ignore your own political mistakes. Most prominently, the governor, in explaining the futility of conservative political exertions in California under his leadership, said nothing about his two-year delay (October 2003 to fall 2005) in launching and actively campaigning for his assault on the Sacramento power structure — dissipating his political capital; affording the opposition time to recover from the recall, marshal its forces, and counterattack; saying virtually nothing through most of 2005 (while the unions pounded him ceaselessly) either in his own defense or to remind voters why he had vowed to "blow up the boxes" in the first place. (On the contrary, he had, with great fanfare, announced that both California's fiscal and political crises had largely been resolved by 2004's Proposition 57, the massive bond-borrowing initiative, which *had* been his first priority upon winning office and upon which he had spent much of that recall-generated political capital.)

Second, play to the liberal media which unfailingly lavishes favorable press on any Republican who makes his Party's core principles the fall guy for his own failures.

Third, brass it out. Hold your head high, just as though craven bowing and scraping before those you fought and failed to beat were not cowardly, but proof of refined understanding and willingness to rise above the shallow dictates of mere honor. You made a mistake; now you know which side is winning: be a man, own up to it, get on

John Kurzweil is editor of California Political Review.

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with life. In deference to the governor's thespian background, we may illustrate the point dramatically:

RICK
... Well, it seems you are determined to keep Laszlo here.

RENAULT
I have my orders.

RICK
Oh, I see. Gestapo spank.

Renault stands up.

RENAULT
My dear Ricky, you overestimate the influence of the Gestapo. I don't interfere with them and they don't interfere with me. In Casablanca, I am master of my fate. I am captain of my ....

He stops short as his AIDE enters.

AIDE
... Major Strasser is here, sir.

Renault starts to leave.

RICK
Yeah, you were saying?

RENAULT
(hurriedly) Excuse me.

He hurries away. Rick smiles cynically.

On cue, the press rushed to praise the governor. *The Sacramento Bee's* Dan Weintraub, for instance, arpeggioed the standard themes in a column worth detailed consideration, not only for what it tells us about the governor's ideas of leadership, but also for what it tells about the corrupting effects of liberalism on the press. "For nearly two years," Mr. Weintraub began his column, "Gov. Schwarzenegger has been turning the other cheek at attacks from conservative Republican activists who claimed he was not really one of them, a Republican in name only. While he disagreed, he never bothered to make a public case for his true beliefs: That the activists, not the governor, are out of touch with the party's voters. That changed Friday [in the governor's CRP speech]."

Mr. Weintraub's main theme, repeated often, was that the Party is run by "mostly conservative delegates" whose self-absorbed, narrow-minded "focus" on "a few positions" accounts for "their party's increasing irrelevance in California." Democrats hold most of the state's top offices and majorities in legislative and congressional delegations. But this "Democratic dominance," Mr. Weintraub said, paraphrasing the governor, "is not inevitable. It is a fragile control that Republicans could overturn if they would only reach out to independent voters — a fast rising share of the electorate — and to disaffected members of both parties." But that won't happen, implied Mr. Weintraub (evidently speaking for himself since attribution to the governor is missing in this part), as long as the Republican Party is "led by social conservatives who oppose gay rights, abortion rights, and immigration — and, in many cases, legal immigration." These "activists," he continued, have "turned off voters who might be open to [the Party's] other beliefs in support of individual freedom, entrepreneurs, economic growth, and smaller government." This, Mr. Weintraub implied, is why the Party has suffered a 370,000-voter fall-off in membership over the past two years.

Mr. Weintraub brings up 'true beliefs' only to celebrate that the governor has bailed out on his own, with insistent urgings to others to do likewise.

His column then abruptly shifted gears, dropping the central contrast between "social" issues and the Party's "other beliefs" — those revolving primarily around "individual freedom." Without explaining how it might fit with the column's previous core distinction and argument, Mr. Weintraub blandly recorded that "state government has grown steadily on the governor's watch, and he has proposed environmental and health care policies that set aside individual freedom and meddle with free markets." This information, however,

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was not employed to fault Schwarzenegger, but to renew the attack on his conservative critics.

A forlorn and futile state Sen. Tom McClintock, as Mr. Weintraub portrayed him, told Party members "We can win some short-term victories by compromising our philosophy for political expediency. A party that does that soon discovers it has ceased to be a party. First, it loses its soul. And then it loses its supporters." But what supporters *has* it to lose? Mr. Weintraub, in effect, asked. "McClintock's beliefs," he wrote, "represent, at best, perhaps half of Republican voters — or about 20 percent of the California electorate. Trying to build that slice into a majority without compromise is a fool's errand." For evidence, he offered polling numbers: most Republicans think "global warming" is serious, 68 percent support AB 32 (a "law the governor signed requiring California to reduce greenhouse gases"), 19 percent of Republicans want "single-payer" health care "that [McClintock] has derided as 'socialized medicine,'" and "51 percent of Republicans back legal recognition for same-sex relationships" while "63 percent support a path to citizenship for illegal immigrants." He concluded with a final reiteration that a "handful of loud, but influential, party members" refusing to compromise conservative principles are the culprits making California Republicans irrelevant.

Now Mr. Weintraub has certainly written a most remarkable column. Here the governor, after two years of shameless braggadocio about girlie men and bold plans to clean house in Sacramento, follows up with the quickest, most complete moral collapse and groveling obeisance before the one-moment-before scorned enemy since the French high command under Marshall Petain informed Winston Churchill in 1940 that (in Churchill's paraphrase) "all was lost and France should give in" to Hitler's New Order in Europe. Imagine the press reaction had, say, Bill Clinton, after losing control of Congress two years into his presidency — the first time Democrats had lost control of both houses in 40 years — abruptly reversed course on issue after issue, calling and actively campaigning for large, real tax cuts, severe reductions in the size and reach of government, repeal of gun control and environmental protection laws, and the seating of judges who would reverse key liberal precedents so as to permit prayer in public schools and — gasp! — overturning *Roe v. Wade* — all the while collaborating with Republicans to force through victories on each of these issues and belittling his fellow Democrats who failed to fall in with the New Order, comparing them to indolent fat men "in denial." Would Mr. Weintraub join in, lamenting "the shame" of a Donkey Party dominated by a "handful of loud, but influential" members too small-minded to see with the president's prescient vision? No prominent Democrat will ever be fool enough to embark on such a bizarre odyssey, so we will never know, but it seems more than fair to assume that major media editorial reaction would not be favorable.

Beyond its weird failure to notice the governor's cravenness, consider the column's tortured internal logic, coming from a widely-respected professional reporter and commentator with decades of experience covering state politics.

In loading Schwarzenegger with compliments in his opening paragraph, Mr. Weintraub implies we should admire a leader who "make[s] a public case for his true beliefs," but are told nothing about the governor's years of espousing Milton Friedman free market principles or the Friedmanesque platform he ran on, or that he told the 2004 Republican National Convention he became a Republican because he heard presidential candidate Richard Nixon "talking about free enterprise, getting the government off your back, lowering the taxes, and strengthening the military" — talk, the governor said, that came to him "like a breath of fresh air." Leaving all this out, Mr. Weintraub brings up "true beliefs" only to celebrate that the governor has bailed out on his own, with insistent urgings to others to do likewise.

Next come Mr. Weintraub's key analytical points: a few "out of touch" Republican activists, sabotaging their own Party by "focusing" on so-

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cial issues, are "turning off" potential new GOP recruits by failing to stress "individual freedom, entrepreneurs, economic growth, and smaller government." To illustrate his point, Mr. Weintraub chooses, as Exhibit A — *Tom McClintock!* — a man who, beginning the first time I met him about a quarter century ago and without wavering since, has expressed exactly the belief that "individual freedom, entrepreneurs, economic growth, and smaller government" are the themes that will lead to GOP electoral success. Tom has *never* "focused" on social issues to the least degree.

Something is not right here. Mr. Weintraub, a serious writer presumably making serious points, leads us along a line of thought exhibiting all the rationality of a monkey house at feeding time. A mere 70 words pass between his chiding conservatives for blowing their chance to grow the Party by emphasizing such issues as "smaller government" before he is implying those same conservatives are fools for lamenting Schwarzenegger's having "grown" government "steadily" while "set[ting] aside individual freedom and meddl[ing] with free markets." Along the way, Abraham Lincoln and Ronald Reagan are brought in — two men known more than anything (as is Tom McClintock) for stubbornly standing by their principles — as somehow *supporting* Schwarzenegger Petainism. *Lincoln*, for Pete's sake? — the man for whom even civil war was not enough to convince him to "bend" to "political reality"?

Beyond this, there is Mr. Weintraub's contention that the "irrelevant" Republicans at the state Party and in the minorities of the two legislative houses somehow define the GOP's public image in California — but *not* the governor who proposes the state budget, who actually makes law by signing and vetoing bills, and who receives virtually all major media coverage accorded Republicans. Naturally, if the party's image is suffering, it must, Mr. Weintraub seems to think, be the fault of legislators and GOP "activists" whose names few voters would even recognize, not the governor they all know.

Next there is the column's facile use of polling numbers. "Nearly two-thirds of Republicans consider global warming a serious problem," we are told. Sure, and I am certain that at least two-thirds of Republicans think a healthy, free economy is a serious concern. Such polling means nothing until the conflicts between competing policies are defined and the voters asked in clear questions which side they favor. "68 percent [of Republicans] back the law the governor signed requiring California to reduce greenhouse gases." Did the pollster tell respondents that no one from the governor to the Sierra Club believes AB 32 will "reduce greenhouse gases" in any measurable degree? Suppose the question were: do you support the California law designed to impose a massive increase in bureaucratic control over vast sections of the California economy and add uncalculated but large costs to home ownership and further designed to drive you out of your car and make you rely on public transportation to get to work, to school, and to run errands — all this not to reduce any sort of gases (because China and the rest of the world will more than fill in any gaps we create here in California), but all for the sole purpose of signaling the world that California takes global warming seriously? A report on the basis of *that* question saying few Californians support AB 32 would still, for all its loading up, more accurately reflect political reality than does Mr. Weintraub's attempt to repackage free market Republicans as Global Warming Luddites.

We learn that "51 percent of Republicans back legal recognition for same-sex relationships" — which means exactly what? The debate is over redefining marriage, not some undefined "legal recognition" of "same-sex relationships." Californians resoundingly voted *not* to redefine marriage in 2000. Where was the Weintraub column in the wake of Prop. 22 dissing a "handful of loud, but influential" Democrats painting their party into a corner, etc., etc.?

Next: "63 percent support a path to citizenship for illegal immigrants" — a lively debate within the Republican Party, which involves its activists, shows wide diversity of opinion on various ques-

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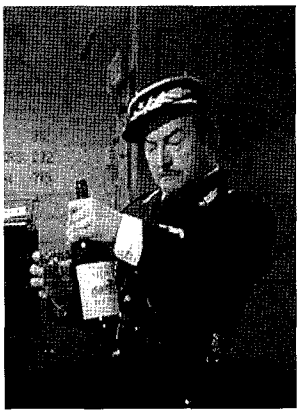
tions regarding the overall issue of immigration (*See:* "The immigration policy debacle," *CPR*, Sept./Oct. 2007). The California Republican best known for stamping his Party's image on the immigration issue in exactly the terms Mr. Weintraub critiques is that avatar of unbending conservatism Pete Wilson.

So — enough is enough. And, in any event, searching for reason in the Weintraub column obscures the more relevant question: what makes a man write demonstrable drivel if it isn't a natural incapacity to make sense? The first thought that occurs to me is that Mr. Weintraub illustrates the truth, in full bloom, of Justice Janice Rogers Brown's remark that "the essence of post-modern culture has been to convince ordinary people that they are incapable of judgment and thus to legitimate the opinions of the most foolish and encourage cleverness rather than wisdom." ("A little traveling music," *CPR*, July/Aug.) The column I have been considering certainly seems to have left rational judgment behind.

As for "legitimating the opinions of the most foolish," consider *specifically* what we are told it is "a fool's errand" *not* to compromise: the right to life; the defense of marriage and recognition of the family; education as concerned with truth and honest debate (*See:* the Schwarzenegger-signed SB 777); limited government; reliance on free people, free institutions, and free markets to best-solve most problems; fiscal responsibility in government along with our hopes for low or even moderate taxes; our freedom from minute, politically-motivated regulation of our property, our livelihoods, our energy sources, and our medical care; the Second Amendment; the First Amendment (if, *e.g.*, the "Fairness Rule" Democrats in Congress have their way); the rule of law (welcoming in its place rule by bureaucratic *diktat* Coastal Commission-style) and our opposition to corrupt judicial activists. On none of these points has the governor shown himself prepared to stand with principle; he has compromised on them all.

And consider the sorts of minds with which we are to compromise. For a taste of the intellectual and moral flavors they prefer, consider the following description of a new film (from the newsletter of the Southern California Republican Women and Men organization, written by one of its members, Eldon Quick):

The movie *In the Valley of Elah*, co-written, produced, and directed by Paul Haggis, staring Tommy Lee Jones, Charlize Theron, and Susan Sarandon, posits that the American soldiers fighting in Iraq are a bunch of dope using, murdering, sadistic torturers who have lost all compassion, and will turn on their own buddies at the slightest provocation. (Just like in Viet Nam, — get it?) And just so you don't think the problem is only with the military, they throw in for good measure that the American civil authorities are nothing but a bunch of incompetent male chauvinistic boobs.



The story involves a retired military (very military) sergeant whose son goes missing immediately after his return from Iraq. The father investigates his son's disappearance and slowly discovers his son: (A) was forced to run over and kill a child, became so upset by the experience he (B) turned to drugs, then (C) sadistic torture of wounded prisoners. Upon his return to the United States he (D) turns on his comrades and fights with them. They in turn: (A) stab him more than 42 times, (B) dismember his body with a dull knife, (C) pour gasoline over the dismembered body and set it on fire, and (D) use his credit card to go buy breakfast. (They were hungry after their nights work.)

Now doesn't this story line immediately strike you as utterly plausible? No? But, it must be, because they tell you at the beginning of the film it is based on a true story.

According to Mr. Weintraub, Governor Schwarzenegger urges Republicans to "become a majority .... by including, not excluding. By being open to new ideas, not rejecting them out of hand. By expanding into the center, not falling back upon ourselves into a smaller and smaller corner." But he is not talking about expanding into any "center." He is talking about compromise with the leadership of the state and national Democrat Party, a political operation wholly in the hands of the sorts of minds behind *In the Valley of Elah*. (If anyone can supply documented

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denunciations of the film by any Democrat member of Congress or the state Legislature, especially anyone in leadership, I will gladly publish and advertise it.) This is no back-water, minor-league piece of cinema. I am a distinctly low-intensity fan of modern films, but even I know that Tommy Lee Jones and Susan Sarandon are big-time stars. And *Entertainment Weekly* says "*In the Valley of Elah* ... is exactly the sort of movie America needs right now — a lacerating, bone-deep inquiry into the war in Iraq, one that struggles to find meaning in the very chaos of that conflict."

Taking the wide-eyed, innocent approach in his review, Roger Ebert deadpans that "Those who call *In the Valley of Elah* anti-Iraq war will not have been paying attention. It doesn't give a damn where the war is being fought. Hank Deerfield isn't politically opposed to the war. He just wants to find out how his son came all the way home from Iraq and ended up in charred pieces in a field."

"*...the essence of post-modern culture has been to convince ordinary people that they are incapable of judgment and thus to legitimate the opinions of the most foolish and encourage cleverness rather than wisdom.*"

If Mr. Weintraub is looking for genuinely disconnected "activists" — really ideologized automatons — he's covering the wrong Party's conventions. So — back to that more relevant question: what makes men lose the will to make rational judgments? The best description I know of this degradation of the human spirit is still David Horowitz's in his book *Destructive Generation.* Please forgive the lengthy quotations following, but this complex truth of our time cannot be explained in a sentence or two. Mr. Horowitz, in a letter to a former "political" friend (Mr. Horowitz wrote this after breaking with the communist left that had been his political home for decades), tells how his father came to be a communist:

> Marx was a rabbi after all. The revolutionary Idea is a religious consolation for earthly defeat .... My father was the only male child of poor immigrants who could not speak English and who were as fearful of the strange world they had come to as of the one they had fled. His own father had failed as a provider, and when my father was still only a child, he realized the family had already placed its fate in his hands. From that time until his death, he felt like a man treading water that was over his head with the shore forever out of sight ....
>
> Until he was thirty, he continued to live in his parents' apartment, and his own life remained dangerously adrift. Clarity entered my father's life through the Communist Party and the socialist Idea. The moment he joined the Party, he felt himself touch the shore of a landmass that circled the globe and extended into the future itself. As a soldier in the Party's vanguard and a prophet of its truth, my father gained wisdom and power beyond his faculty, and finally achieved what his own father had not, his self-esteem as a man.

Horowitz a little earlier described, in a direct exchange with his former friend, the illusion-inducing power of the revolutionary Idea that his father had accepted:

> *What concerns me about you [his friend had written to him] is that you have lost the compassion and humanism which motivated our parents to make their original choice.*
>
> You say [Mr. Horowitz answered] their *original choice.* Another Orwellian evasion. Their "original choice" was Communism, was it not? Our parents were idolators in the church of a mass murderer named Joseph Stalin. They were not moralists but Marxist-Leninists. For them, the Revolution *was* morality (and beauty and truth as well). For them, compassion outside the Revolution was mere *bourgeois* sentimentality ....
>
> Compassion is not what motivates the Left, which is oblivious to the human suffering its generations have caused. What motivates the Left is the totalitarian Idea: the Idea that is more important than reality itself. What motivates the Left is the Idea of the future in which everything is changed, everything *transcended.* The future in which the present is already *annihilated;* in which its reality no longer exists.
>
> What motivates the Left is an Idea whose true consciousness is this: *Everything human is alien.* Because everything that is flesh-and-blood humanity is only the disposable past. This is the consciousness that makes mass murderers of well-intentioned humanists and earnest progressives, the Hegalian liberators of the socialist cause.
>
> In the minds of the liberators, it is not really

(Please turn to page 36)

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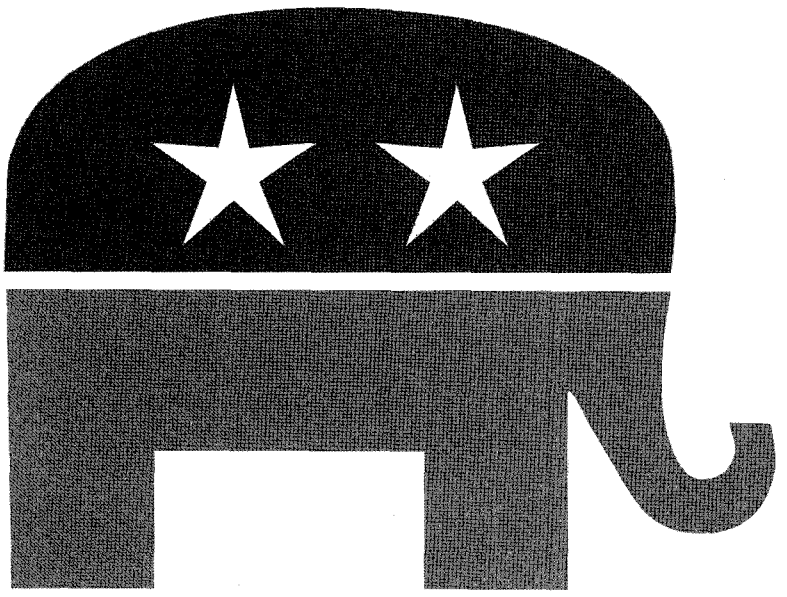

The GOP Presidential Sweepstakes: Winnowing the Field

California supporters of the top five GOP rivals for president say why conservatives should back their man

(Introduced, with a cautionary tale, by William E. Saracino)

Ray Haynes on Mitt Romney
John Allan Peschong on John McCain
William E. Simon on Rudy Giuliani
Chuck DeVore on Fred Thompson
Matthew Anderson, Joe Carter, and Justin Taylor on Mike Huckabee

WILLIAM E. SARACINO

MAKING UP MY MIND

Did you ever have to make up your mind?
Pick up on one and leave the other behind.
It's not often easy and not often kind.
Did you ever have to make up your mind?

— *The Lovin' Spoonful*

As IT regards presidential politics, the answer to the Spoonful's question is "yes," and it grows more cogent each passing day. That said, I still can't do it. I'm still stuck in my "all of the above are fine, but none of the above really move me" mode. I leave to the contributors whose words immediately follow these remarks to extol the virtues of the various candidates. My purpose is to plead with all the campaigns: Keep your eye on the prize — defeating Hillary Clinton next November.

I've been particularly agitated of late by an increasing cacophony from my fellow conservatives about candidates who are "unacceptable" at one level or another. The "if we don't get our way we're taking our ball and going home" threat making the most news came from a group of mostly religious-right types, threatening to support a third party if Rudy Giuliani is the GOP nominee. But in addition to this high-profile shot across the bow, I've heard and read words written in a similar vein from several of the GOP presidential campaigns, or — rather — from their supporters.

William E. Saracino is a member of California Political Review's *Editorial Board.*

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2008 presents us with two issues which, in my mind, trump and over-ride concerns about all the others: the war against terrorism and appointing good judges.

— William E. Saracino

I'm sorry, but I just don't get it. What the religious-right (and, by the way, being both religious and right-wing, I could be considered part of that group) leaders imply — meaning to or not — (and this goes for any candidate's supporters who declare this or that other GOP candidate impossible to vote for) is that President Hillary Clinton would be a better than President Giuliani — or whichever other GOP candidate is written off as hopeless: that President Giuliani, Romney, Paul, or "X" would damage the country more than would Madam President Clinton.

This is madness.

On a 10 question (or 100 question) philosophical litmus test, I'd score pretty far to the right on both economic and social issues. That said, the 2008 election is being held in a particularly somber, dangerous time for our republic. Such times call for especially sober judgment on our part.

It seems that every four years supporters of one candidate or another trot out the cliché that this year's is the most important election in American history. I don't know if 2008 fits that description or not, but I do know that 2008 presents us with two issues which, in my mind, trump and over-ride concerns about all the others: the war against terrorism and appointing good judges.

If we get it wrong on these two issues, none — repeat *none* — of the other issues, whether economic or social, will matter. If we get it wrong on these two issues, it is likely that 10 years from now our country will be a place far different, and far worse off, than it is today. Can any conservative look me in the eye and say that on these two specific issues Hillary Clinton is preferable to *anyone* in the Republican field?

As I am not yet supporting any of the candidates, I don't want to get into specific criticisms about the different candidates or the rebuttals thereto. And having cut my political teeth in intra-party warfare, I do not at all mean to discourage frank and pointed discussions of where the candidates differ on issues or encourage papering over differences. Primary campaigns are absolutely the proper place to discuss where we disagree — but also to remember where we agree. Primary campaigns are the proper place to point out your candidate's strengths and the other candidates' weaknesses. But equally important is keeping those differences and strengths/weaknesses in perspective and not forgetting to include in the calculus the long term health of the Republic. Protecting that health requires defeating Hillary.

Madam President Hillary and First Fella Bill directing the war against terrorism. James Carville, Alan Derschowitz, and Stephen Reinhardt selecting our federal judges. Bill Maher MC-ing the inaugural festivities. Let those images roll around in your mind a bit. If they don't give you shivers than you'd best check your pulse. You could be dead.

Picking a candidate from a field this size is, as the Spoonful said, not often easy and not often kind. I don't know where I'll eventually land, but it will be with the candidate I think stands the best chance of keeping Evita Rodham Clinton out of the Oval Office. Any campaign that even approaches saying that "candidate X is or should be totally unacceptable for November" will lose my vote (but only in the primary).

So my plea to the campaigns is: By all means do all you can to win the nomination, but please keep your eye on the prize: the long-term survival of the country we know and love.

RAY HAYNES — WHY MITT ROMNEY

The presidential year about to begin is one of the more interesting ones in recent memory. As George the Younger makes his exit, the question is: what is the key factor defining this unique race that will determine who succeeds him, in the Party, and, Republicans hope, the White House? This isn't 1988, when Reagan's popularity allowed George the Elder to ride his coattails to the presidency, and it isn't 1996, when Bob Dole eclipsed the Republican field after Phil Gramm's incompetence took him out of the running. Nor is this 2000, with George Bush vs. John McCain, where a conservative versus moderate race was defined early, with Bush winning it. While Bush has not been a great conservative (he is horrible on illegal immigration, he did not stop the spend-thrift Republicans in Congress, and he has not been a passionate spokesman for conservative issues), he has governed conservatively and he has, for the most part,

Ray Haynes is a contributing editor of California Political Review.

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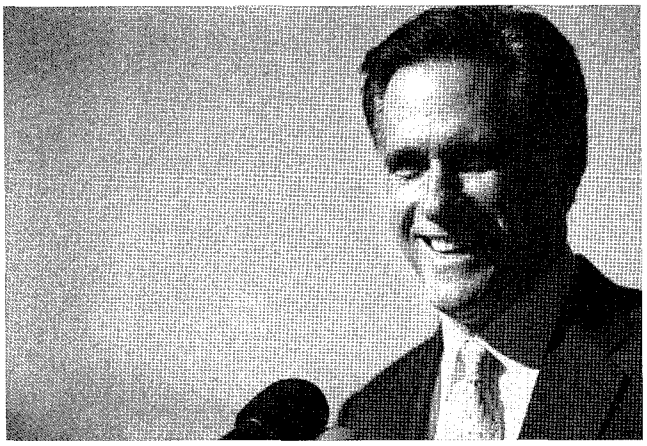

MITT ROMNEY

left this country with a solid conservative judiciary (unlike his father).

In this race, every candidate is trying to make the case to conservatives, including Rudy Giuliani, who never even tried to pretend he was a conservative in the past. In my view, the race for conservatives will come down to two people, Fred Thompson and Mitt Romney. Thompson, whose conservative record in Congress is not sterling, has the support of a lot of the Washington conservative organizations. The question for Thompson is: will he be the passionate defender of conservative values, a key Bush weakness, that the movement truly needs to complete the Reagan Revolution? As a Senator, he was less than passionate, and less willing to upset the apple cart than, say, a Tom Coburn or George Allen. He is also late, and not raising the kind of money he needs to catch up to the rest of the crowd. Indeed, the key problem for conservatives in this race at the primary stage is the defeat of Rudy Giuliani, whose pretend conservatism will ultimately be disastrous to whatever shreds of the movement still exist.

THAT IS why I am supporting Mitt Romney. Romney has the money, leads in the polls in the early states, and has spent the time and the effort to establish organizations in the states that matter. He has clearly run a smart campaign to this point. No, he is *not* ahead in the national polls, but national polls are irrelevant at this point. No presidential campaign is run nationally; they are run state by state. Winning in the early states can create a momentum that will build national name recognition and popularity.

More important than that, Romney has been a passionate defender of conservative values. He is not afraid to talk about the issues important to conservatives. He is not afraid to speak his mind. More importantly, he has made an effort at every turn to look to conservatives for support (not to dwell on Romney's faith, but it is a fact that Mormons and the Mormon Church have been key players in the political fight over social issues, on the side of families and life). At each turn, Romney has been fighting for conservatives and conservative values.

The only knock on Romney has been that he did not govern as a conservative while governor of Massachusetts. The statement is not true. He kept a *very* liberal, out-of-control Legislature from spinning completely off the deep end — no mean feat, considering that the Massachusetts Legislature included enough liberals to override any governor's veto. To balance a budget, and get some reforms in that situation is miraculous. (Compare that with the governing style of Arnold Schwarzenegger, who is about to find out what happens when a Republican governs from the middle: he gets caught in the budget vise caused by his and the Legislature's spendthrift ways.) Romney took a worse situation than Schwarzenegger faces in California, fought for the values in which he believed, and *changed* the Legislature. He did not let the Legislature change him.

Yes, he supported *Roe v. Wade* in his run for the U.S. Senate. He is now unashamedly pro-life. Do we punish someone for changing his mind our way? He has not backed down, he has been fiscally responsible, he has fought for the family, leading the fight against homosexual marriage in a wildly liberal state, and stood tall for our values. He deserves conservative support.

JOHN ALLAN PESCHONG

JOHN McCAIN: LEADERSHIP FOR A SECURE FUTURE

JOHN MCCAIN is best prepared to lead and defend the United States and its global allies in the transcendent struggle of our time — the war against radical Islamic extremists. Having spent a lifetime in national service, John McCain has a proven record of protecting the security of our great nation. His courageous service in the Navy, including a five and a half year struggle in a North Vietnamese prisoner of war camp, distinguishes him as the only major presidential candidate with military experience — experience that steeled him to continue his leadership in the U.S. Senate. This election is about who is best prepared to lead and defend our nation, and John McCain is undeniably the best prepared candidate to serve as commander-in-chief from day one. Defeating radical Is-

John Allan Peschong, California Republican Party executive director from 1993 to 1997, is a partner with Meridian Pacific, a Sacramento-based campaign and grass roots public affairs firm.

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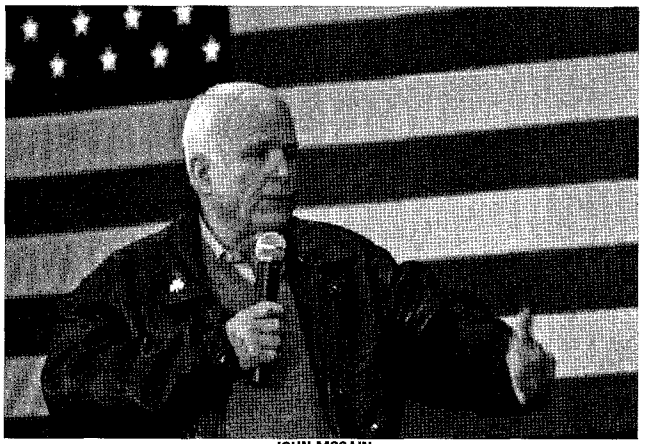

JOHN MCCAIN

lamist extremists is the national security challenge of our time. Iraq is this war's central front, according to our commander there, General David Petraeus, and according to our enemies, including al Qaeda's leadership.

The recent years of mismanagement and failure in Iraq demonstrate that America should go to war only with sufficient troop levels and with a realistic and comprehensive plan for success. We did not do so in Iraq, and our country and the people of Iraq have paid a heavy price. The American people have grown sick and tired of it. John McCain understands this frustration and has been made sick at heart by the many mistakes made by civilian and military commanders and the terrible price we have paid for them. But John McCain knows that we cannot react to these mistakes by embracing a course of action that will be an even greater mistake, a mistake of colossal historical proportions, which will seriously endanger our nation. John McCain wants our troops to come home too, but he wants them to come home with honor — the honor of victory that is due all of those who have paid with the ultimate sacrifice, so that sacrifice is not in vain.

In 2003 John McCain told us, "The simple truth is that we do not have sufficient forces in Iraq to meet our military objectives." A year later he reminded us that "I was there last August and have said since then that we needed more troops; we need them very badly. We may be paying a price for not having had more troops there." We have new commanders in Iraq, and they are following a counterinsurgency strategy that John McCain has called for from the beginning, which makes the most effective use of our strength and doesn't strengthen the tactics of our enemy. This new battle plan is succeeding where our previous tactics failed.

However, leading Democrat presidential candidates vote against funding for our troops engaged in war in Afghanistan and Iraq.

Leading Democrat presidential candidates question even whether there is a war on terror, offer to enter into unconditional negotiations with our enemies, and talk about countering the forces of radicalism by advocating surrender to them in Iraq. Choosing to lose in Iraq would hand a victory to the radicals in control of Iran. As Iran's president recently crowed, "soon, we will see a huge power vacuum in the region [and] we are prepared to fill the gap ...." Iran has been engaged in a proxy war against our forces in Iraq for years. They are actively aiding radicals with advanced weapons and on-the-ground training.

John McCain recognizes the threat that Iran poses to stability in the Middle East. Protected by a nuclear arsenal, Iran would be even more willing and able to sponsor terrorist attacks against any perceived enemy, including the United States and Israel, or even to pass nuclear materials to one of its allied terrorist networks. John McCain has made clear that a nuclear armed Iran is unacceptable. He knows the next president must confront this threat directly, and has argued that effort must begin with tougher political and economic sanctions. If the United Nations is unwilling to act, as president, John McCain has pledged to lead a group of like-minded countries to impose effective multilateral sanctions, such as restrictions on exports of refined gasoline, outside the UN framework. John McCain knows from personal experience that war is a terrible thing, but not the worst thing. And he has made clear, that although it is the last resort, a military option with respect to Iran must remain on the table.

This election is about making sure we have the experienced leadership to guide us to victory in this war, protect the nation against future terrorist attacks, and support our troops and first responders who are on the front lines of the war. This election will decide whether we choose to fight or announce surrender. It will decide whether we have a president who dangerously weakens U.S. security or strengthens it; whether we will flinch and retreat or fully engage the enemy on multiple fronts. We need decisive leadership with the vision and experience to guide our country and the world through this challenge. Having a courageous commander-in-chief who is willing to lead us in this war, rally our democratic allies, and defeat our enemy to secure a broader peace is what's at stake in this election. John McCain is best prepared to lead and defend our nation and its global allies as commander-in-chief from day one. He has the experience and leadership to defeat our enemy and secure a broader peace.

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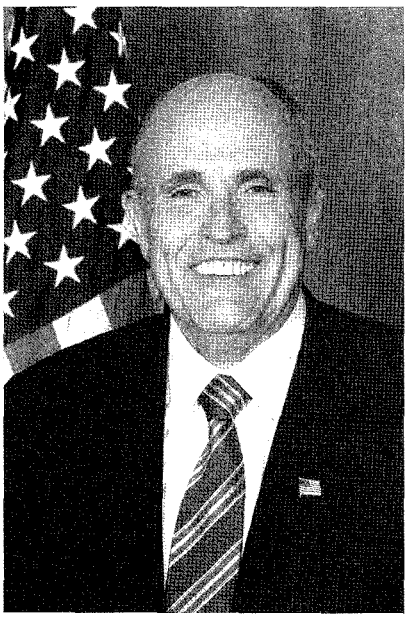
WILLIAM E. SIMON — CONSERVATIVE GOVERNANCE

RUDY GIULIANI is the kind of leader who should appeal to conservatives in search of a candidate with executive leadership experience and a proven record of results. The stakes for the upcoming presidential election are incredibly high. We need a president who will keep our country safe and keep our economy moving forward. As we move through the presidential nominating process with the California primary on February 5, it is critical that Republicans select a candidate whom we trust to deliver results and who can win the race against the Democrats in November.

Mayor Giuliani is the only candidate in this cycle I've seen with the executive experience needed to step in on day one and be ready to lead this country. Not only did Rudy lead one of the nation's largest governments while he was mayor of New York City, but he was an effective common sense executive who found solutions to problems that others said were unsolvable.

Rudy is the true fiscal conservative candidate in the race. In fact, George Will has called Rudy's time as mayor of New York "the most successful episode of conservative governance in this country in the last 50 years." That testimonial is not simply a recognition of his unmatched fiscal record, but is a statement borne of the understanding that Rudy, for years, fought on the front lines of the culture war — in the very heart of American liberalism.



RUDY GIULIANI

If you look at each candidate's accomplishments, it is clear that Rudy Giuliani is the true fiscal conservative. Like Ronald Reagan, a fiscal conservative is someone who can lower taxes, limit government spending, and grow the economy in the face of difficult challenges. With Democrat control of Congress, it would seem to be a nearly impossible task in Washington, D.C., these days, but one man did it in a place that it may have been even tougher: New York City.

William E. Simon is National Policy Director and California Campaign Chairman for the Rudy Giuliani Presidential Committee, Inc.

John McCain knows from personal experience that war is a terrible thing, but not the worst thing.

— John Allan Peschong

Americans across the nation are looking for a leader committed to ending runaway government spending. Rudy Giuliani is the only proven conservative leader running for president who can reform our budget process. He knows that our country needs strong fiscal management and his remarkable record as the reform-minded, two-term mayor of America's largest city backs up his commitment.

Mayor Giuliani has committed to the American people to budget like a business and make government more honest, accountable, and transparent. He will demand cost estimates for all legislation before it is voted on so taxpayers know how Congress is spending their money. Rudy also pledges to replace only half of the federal workers scheduled to retire over the next 10 years. This dramatic reduction will bring about a more efficient, effective workforce and save taxpayers an estimated $21 billion each year.

Rudy will bring transparency to the federal government by supporting an end to congressional earmarks that drive up the cost and size of government. By cutting taxes, controlling spending, and limiting the size of government, Rudy turned a deficit into a surplus, all while balancing the city's budget.

THOSE WHO remember New York City prior to Rudy's tenure recall its depraved conditions. Prostitutes and porn shops lined Times Square, the heart of the city. Violent criminals ran roughshod over defenseless tourists and residents alike, turning America's most recognizable city into what some called the crime capital of the Western world. Drug dealers, beggars, the infamous "squeegee men" — they all contributed to the moral decay of what was once a proud, vibrant, and dynamic American city. And more than one million New Yorkers — one of every seven residents — was on welfare.

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And the one million citizens on welfare? More than 640,000 of them were moved from the public dole to the private sector payroll.

BUT TIMES SQUARE is a dramatically different place today, as is almost all of New York. That is no accident. Rudy systematically went after the root causes of the dramatic social decline that had occurred in New York, and he did it successfully. Rudy's career fighting crime is well-documented. As mayor, Rudy significantly reduced crime making New York City the safest large city in America. As president he will do the same.

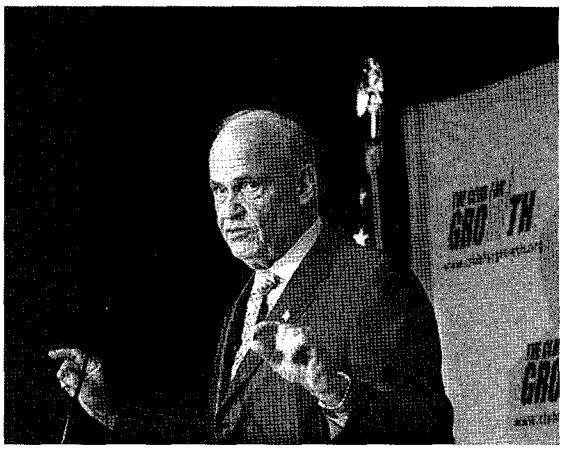
Rudy is committed to keeping America on the offense in the Terrorists' War on Us. He understands that the "terrorists are at war with us," even though many Democrats refuse to realize this. Rudy is committed to ensuring that every community in America is prepared for terrorist attacks and natural disasters. He emphasizes the role of state and local governments, reducing bureaucracy and thereby empowering local law enforcement and first responders. With less focus on centralized control we will be able to focus on coordinating and training local governments to prepare and respond to disasters.

Our many areas of agreement manifest themselves in many of Rudy's other commitments to the American people. Rudy is the strongest supporter of school choice in the race. His health care reforms would transform our health care system so that Americans could choose to keep their employer-based health insurance or, if they prefer, purchase insurance that better suits their needs. Rudy has committed to implementing the Adam Walsh Act and defending our children from sexual predators and child pornography. With his experience in law enforcement, he's by far the best candidate to get this done.

The truth is, while there may be disagreements with Rudy on some social issues there is much common ground not only on these issues, but also on critical issues such as the economy and homeland security. He shares our concerns and is eager to work with conservatives to achieve real results and move our country forward.

CHUCK DEVORE THOMPSON: *THE* CONSERVATIVE IN THIS RACE

I — ALONG WITH the largest contingent of Republican state lawmakers supporting any presidential candidate — am backing Senator Fred Thompson for the Republican presidential nomination. What do many of us see in Sen. Thompson's candidacy?



FRED THOMPSON

Well, before I go into my reasons for supporting Thompson, I think it appropriate to state why I did *not* endorse any of the other gentlemen who have been running for the most part of what seems like a decade now.

I'll limit my critique to the four front running candidates. As of this writing, national polling shows Rudy Giuliani in the lead with the support of a little more than a quarter of Republicans, followed by Fred Thomson, then John McCain and Mitt Romney, and lastly, Mike Huckabee at just over five percent.

We'll start with "America's Mayor" Rudy Giuliani. A CBS News Poll completed October 16 appears to indicate a substantial weakening of Giuliani's support, with six in ten of his backers manifesting growing doubts about his candidacy. Why this dramatic weakening of Republican support? Perhaps because rank-and-file Republicans are finally becoming acquainted with Mr. Giuliani, a man who supports federal funding for abortions, made New York City a sanctuary city for illegal immigrants, and, as Thompson charged in the October 21 debate, Giuliani is "... for gun control. He supported Mario Cuomo, a liberal Democrat, against a Republican who was running for governor, then opposed the [Republican] governor's tax cuts .... [Giuliani] sides with Hillary Clinton on each of those issues."

Indeed, apart from being an articulate defender of America and Western Civilization in general during a time of conflict with radical Islam, what is the former mayor known for? A Democrat and an independent in the 1970s, Giuliani switched parties to join the Reagan Administration in 1981. When he first ran for mayor and lost in 1989, he ran as both Republican and Liberal Party nominee. New York's Conservative Party backed Giuliani's primary opponent, noting that the Liberal

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Party's endorsement of Giuliani was made on the grounds that he "... agreed with the Liberal Party's views on affirmative action, gay rights, gun control, school prayer, and tuition tax credits." This is certainly an interesting pedigree for a man who wants to be the nominee of the party of Ronald Reagan.

When I had a chance to speak face-to-face with Giuliani in February of this year I asked him about gun control. During his long answer he concluded by justifying the restrictions he placed on gun ownership in New York City by saying that people cannot exercise liberty if they have no security. This is a disturbing sentiment coming from a man who wishes to lead a nation that birthed the Declaration of Independence and whose Founders believed that, "Those who would give up *essential liberty* to purchase a little *temporary safety*, deserve neither *liberty nor safety*."

I have three main concerns with Governor Mitt Romney. First, Romney can't seem to decide whether he wants to embrace or distance himself from his Massachusetts healthcare reform effort. The reason for this may be seen in a criticism from the Pacific Research Institute's Sally Pipes: "The plan (Romneycare) is much more expensive than it was originally expected. If you have a lot of government mandates, it pushes up the cost." Second, Romney's off/on/off support of abortion and specific rights for homosexuals bespeaks someone who will say anything to get elected. A single flip may be excused as an epiphany; but a double flip? Third, Romney's rhetoric heavily leans to "strength" as America's overriding virtue, rather than liberty. Where Giuliani might simply say, "Strength," Romney says, "Conservatism and Strength."

Liberty is the idea that sets America apart; not an American version of Blood and Soil.

Senator John McCain is an American hero. There is no doubt about this. But his support of amnesty for illegal immigrants with Sen. Ted Kennedy, his "maverick" 2000 campaign, and other deviations from GOP orthodoxy undercut his standing with the conservative base of the Republican Party. In addition, many are uncomfortable with the former POW's well-known volcanic temper — considering it tolerable when among 100 senators in the Legislative Branch, but another thing altogether when emanating from the sole embodiment of the Executive Branch.

Governor Mike Huckabee appears to be a fine man. But he too has fatal flaws as we seek to move the Republican Party beyond President Bush and the disastrous 2006 election. Huckabee is articulate and charismatic where Bush struggles to project these qualities. But, listen closely to Huckabee's positions and you'll see "compassionate conservatism" with a brighter smile. Neither America nor the Republican Party can afford another four years of government compassion on current taxpayers' dimes and future taxpayers' borrowed dollars.

Thompson's unblinking stand on entitlement reform turned into a question for the other frontrunners to answer at the October 21 debate — that's called setting the agenda.

— Chuck DeVore

Senator Fred Thompson believes that liberty and personal responsibility are two sides of the same coin.

He is a firm believer in federalism, enunciating that belief even when it is clearly not to his benefit, such as when James Dobson and others attacked Thompson for not supporting an amendment to the U.S. Constitution banning homosexual marriage. The liberty-minded Cato Institute wrote of Thomson in late May, "During his eight years in the Senate, Thompson had a solid record as a fiscal conservative. The National Taxpayers Union gives him the third highest marks of any candidate (trailing only [Ron] Paul and Rep. Tom Tancredo)... He has been a consistent supporter of entitlement reform, voting to means-test Medicare and supporting personal accounts for Social Security."

Cato's observation about entitlement reform is particularly attractive given that all the tinkering around at the margins of the federal budget will do nothing for us at all unless the massive and unsustainable twin Ponzi schemes of Social Security and Medicare are fixed. In fact, Thompson's unblinking stand on entitlement reform turned into a question for the other frontrunners to answer at the October 21 debate — that's called setting the agenda.

On life, Thompson amassed a perfect 100 percent pro-life voting record in the Senate and did so without being preachy or appearing to pander.

Lastly, on the hot issue of the day, illegal immigration, Thompson has staked out a tough plan to curb illegal immigration, highlighting a big vulnerability for Giuliani, Romney, and McCain. The plan's first principle is no amnesty, while calling for stronger ver-

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ification of worker eligibility, a more rigorous visa tracking system, and increased prosecution of illegal immigrant smugglers along with a completed border fence.

MATTHEW ANDERSON, JOE CARTER, JUSTIN TAYLOR — PRAGMATIC IDEALISTS FOR HUCKABEE

Requests to the Mike Huckabee Presidential campaign for a statement on why conservatives should support its candidate, or help in contacting a California supporter who might provide such a statement, were not answered. So CPR reprints (edited per space constraints) the following endorsement posted October 25 on the campaign website.

— editor

WHEN IT comes to politics, we three are pragmatic idealists. We are dedicated to the pursuit of noble principles and goals while never forgetting that politics is the "art of the possible." Because we are idealists we are choosing to endorse a candidate who most aligns with our principles and values and is most worthy of our sacred trust. Because we are pragmatists we are choosing to endorse the one candidate who we believe is most capable of defeating Sen. Hillary Clinton.

Because we are pragmatic idealists we are endorsing Gov. Mike Huckabee ....

We hope to persuade other conservatives that Gov. Huckabee is capable of not only appealing to the three legs of the conservative coalition—social conservatives, fiscal conservatives, and defense conservatives—but to a broader confederation of Republicans and independents. The following is our reasons and rationale:

SOCIAL CONSERVATIVES

Gov. Huckabee is by far the most socially conservative candidate running for President. He supports passage of constitutional amendments to protect the right to life and the definition of marriage; he opposes embryo-destructive research and promises to veto any pro-abortion legislation; he supports policies that ensure children receive "a quality education, first-rate health care, decent housing in a safe neighborhood, and clean air and drinking water"; he proposes a nine point Veteran's Bill of Rights; and he emphasizes that there is a religious and moral imperative to conserve resources and protect God's creation.

DEFENSE CONSERVATIVES

Gov. Huckabee vows to remain vigilant in the "world war" against Islamic extremism and says that "this threat is one that we cannot negotiate, accommodate, or placate—it is one which we must eradicate"; he supports the Powell Doctrine of using overwhelming force to accomplish a mission; he believes that "Iraq is a battle in our generational, ideological war on terror" and is committed to defeating Al Qaeda there in order to bring stability to the country; he supports a regional summit so that Iraq's neighbors become financially and militarily committed to stabilizing Iraq now rather than financially and militarily committed to widening the war later; he is a strong supporter of Israel, "the only fully-functioning democracy in the Middle East, and our greatest friend in that region"; he believes that securing the border is a national security measure and must be done immediately.

FISCAL CONSERVATIVES

Gov. Huckabee is a candidate that should appeal to fiscal conservatives. He has signed the Presidential Taxpayer Protection Pledge which binds the signer to "oppose any and all efforts to increase the marginal income tax rates for individuals and/or businesses ... and oppose any net reduction or elimination of deductions and credits, unless matched dollar for dollar by further reducing tax rates"; he supports the FairTax, which would abolish the IRS and replace the Internal Revenue Code with a consumption tax; he believes in free trade (that is, fair trade) and claims that "globalization, done right, done fairly, can be the equivalent of a big pay raise by allowing us to buy things more cheaply."

[Regarding] ... the white paper on Huckabee released by the Club for Growth *[http://www.clubforgrowth. org/2007/01/a_report_on_mike_huckabees_fis.php]* .... we were dismayed by their report that was at times misleading, if not outright dishonest. We acknowledge that the Club believes that state sales taxes should never be increased to pay for such entitlements as education, Medicare, highways, and economic development. We understand that this is the reason that they oppose Gov. Huckabee's record. But we believe that most Americans—and most conservatives—are not minarchists. We do not think the fiscal conservative *bona fides* of a man who cut taxes and fees almost 100 times, saving the taxpayers almost $380 million, and left a surplus of nearly $850 million should be denigrated because he took such actions as implementing a 1/8-cent sales tax hike. CPR

Matthew Anderson is proprietor of Mere Orthodoxy *[http://mereorthodoxy.com], a Christian-religious blog site; Joe Carter produces* Evangelical Outpost *[http://www.evangelicaloutpost.com] a blog featuring "reflections on culture, politics, and religion from an evangelical worldview"; Justin Taylor, whose blog,* Between Two Worlds *[http://www.theologica.blogspot.com], is self-described as "a Mix of Theology, Philosophy, Politics, and Culture."*

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POETICS

Three Los Angeles Prophets

Gene Scott, Aimee McPherson & The Amazing Criswell

BY CHARLES A. COULOMBE

On 18 August 2007 at 10:30 p.m., my brother Andre, writer-documentary-maker Ed Canfield, and I led a candlelight procession of some 50 people down Selma Avenue in Hollywood, California. The cavalcade wended its three block-long way from an establishment called The Piano Bar to an office building inhabited by an outfit called "Five Star Video" at 1555 Cassil Place. Despite the date, this was not an observance in honor of St. Agapitus — Hollywood is not known for its *festas* (although in recent years the feast of San Gennaro has become a local observance — thanks to Jimmy Kimmel, of all people). No, despite the fact that all occurred under the shadow of the imposing Jesuit Church of the Blessed Sacrament (where I received my First Communion), the worthy being honored was the Amazing Criswell.

This procession, which featured the singing of such hymns as "Kumbaya" and the theme from The Rocky Horror Picture Show, was part of a festivity dubbed the "Cristennial," in observation of the great psychic's hundredth birthday. Other events included a party at the Piano Bar, featuring an endless loop of one of Criswell's appearances with Jack Paar in 1962, and a rendition of Mae West's classic ballad in his honor, "Criswell Predicts." You see, the Video Office, in its former incarnation as 6620 Selma Avenue, was the apartment house which the prognosticator had owned, where we Coulombes had made our home upon arrival in Hollywood from New York in the mid-'60s. Together with Criswell's former art director, Claudia Polifronio (a fellow tenant at the time) and our mother, Andre and I were the only ones of the glittering assemblage who had actually known the great man. All the others had assembled purely out of homage to America's first celebrity psychic.

Of course, it must be confessed that all the veneration offered the memory of the Man from Princeton (Indiana) was not entirely serious. True, one night in 1962, on The Tonight Show, Criswell had declared that "I predict that President Kennedy will not run for reelection in 1964, because of something that will happen to him in November 1963" — a prediction many others of the ESP fraternity discovered that they had made only after the event. Moreover, on December 31, 1965, Criswell predicted that Ronald Reagan would be California's next governor. Some of his predictions — unattached to a particular date — have certainly come true: homosexuality has indeed been legalized by the Supreme Court, and clothes have become very unisex. But many others might be considered wildly inaccurate

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— for instance, that Mae West would be elected president in 1960; that pregnant women would be the first Americans on the Moon; that London would be destroyed by a meteor in 1988. Most famous of all, of course, was Criswell's declaration that the World would end on August 18, 1999.

SADLY, THE seer himself had "departed our dimension" (in Tim Burton's memorable phrase) in 1982. Bereft of his support, I resolved to ride out this momentous occasion with many friends at Boardner's, Criswell's favorite bar in Hollywood — it was in staggering distance from the house. As writer John Whalen wrote in his coverage of that event for *The New Yorker*, "Alas, when the last revellers left, at 2 a.m., Boardners was still standing, thus dealing the Criswell legacy yet another harsh statistical blow." Yes, well, scoffers may scoff! But we true believers know that all of us on earth are simply dwellers in the Criswellian aftermath! Thus it was that, eight years after that initial effort, the Cristennial was organized. Sadly, Boardner's, well-described by Whalen as "congenially moldering" in 1999, has since been gentrified out of recognition; all that remains the same is the sign outside — worse yet, Saturday is "Goth Night," eminently unsuitable for such a party. Hence the change of venue.

On a more serious note, however, Criswell's career, bizarre as it was, has a certain significance beyond that magic circle of fans of bizarrerie. For one thing, Criswell incarnated the American dream, albeit in a funhouse mirror. During his high school years in his Hoosier hamlet, he wrote for a local paper. He migrated to Cincinnati and then New York, and in the latter town drifted into theatrical circles. Teaming up with later wife Myrtle Stonesifer (under the name "Halo Meadows" — a sometime speakeasy dancer) he resolved to break into Broadway. This he did, with his own play, *The Life and Loves of Dorian Gray*. It ran for a month in 1936; but how many of us will ever see our work on the Great White Way?

UNSPEAKABLE HORRORS FROM OUTER SPACE PARALYZE THE LIVING AND RESURRECT THE DEAD!
PLAN 9 FROM OUTER SPACE
BELA LUGOSI
VAMPIRA
LYLE TALBOT

Marrying Halo in 1940, Criswell took her and himself on the road with *Dorian*, playing across the country, and landing in Hollywood — where the cast included Norvell, another noted mentalist. But Criswell's career as a psychic would really take off in the 1950s, with a nationwide television show of his own, numerous nightclub appearances in L.A. and Las Vegas, a nationally syndicated newspaper column revealing his predictions, and, of course, The Tonight Show. At his height, he became an important figure on the local scene, riding several years in Hollywood's Christmas celebration, the Santa Claus Lane Parade; Criswell even hosted a television retrospective on the Hollywood Hotel, when that famed resort of the stars faced the wrecking ball. What has kept his memory alive, however, has been his appearances in his friend Edward D. Wood, Jr.'s, three classic films, *Plan 9 From Outer Space*, *Night of the Ghouls*, and *Orgy of the Dead*. These, in turn, led to Tim Burton's cinematic tribute to Wood — *Ed Wood* — wherein Criswell is played by the hapless Jeffrey Jones (better known, perhaps, as Emperor Joseph II in *Amadeus* and Matthew Broderick's nemesis in *Ferris Bueller's Day Off*). But it must be said that Jones' performance bore little resemblance to the man I knew. That was fine, though. Excellent as Johnny Depp's Wood, Martin Landau's Bela Lugosi, and the others were, had Jones played Criswell as he was, they would have vanished into his shadow, as Kevin Costner did into Sean Connery's in *Robin Hood, Prince of Thieves*.

THE TRUTH is, that with his shock of blond-white hair, invariable white or black tie, and booming delivery, Criswell was hard to miss. On his television show, the impressive strains of "Pomp and Circumstance" would be followed by the great one's stirring messages, delivered in stentorian tones — "We are all interested in the future, because that is where you and I are going to spend the rest of our lives"; "We are all lighted candles in a darkened room: weary travelers on the road of life!" With vocabulary and tense inspired by the Bible, Shakespeare, 19th century oratory, and medicine show pitches, such messages always trembled on the verge of comprehensibility. Audiences were wowed, for a while, anyway. His messages could be fevered:

> Can our whirling, turning, churning earth last out the night? Our geologists tell us that the danger to Mother Earth lies not in the uncharted vast of outer space, but from inner-earth! .... Here is what will more than likely happen according to geologists: Small tidal waves will play havoc for no reason at all. The surface of the earth will bulge ever so slightly and highways will slightly

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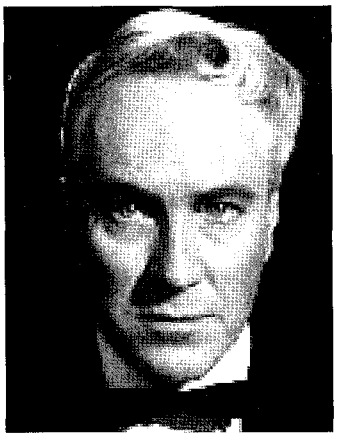
buckle. Foundations will tip, and floors will slant. When you pour a cup of coffee or a glass of water, the rim will not level. Telephone coin boxes and vending machines will refuse to work. Delicate instruments will go haywire. Elevators will go out of whack. Jukeboxes will be mute. Radio and TV will fail. All electric power, gas and water service will cease. And then will come the time when garbage cans roll across the street for no apparent reason. Then and only then will you realize the advanced corrosion spelling the end of our Earth. The seas will quickly fill up with a gooey mass of inner-earth rubble. Our streets and city lots, farms, and deserts will bubble up like a festered oil, marking the complete collapse. Has this happened before? More than likely. And it will again happen in your incredible future.



THE AMAZING CRISWELL

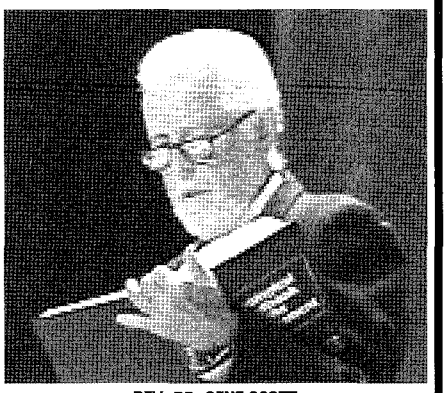
But they could be reflective too — and Criswell commented on everything at one time of another: Biblical references, ghosts, UFOs, Bigfoot, lost continents, and a heavy dose of good, old fashioned Heartland moralism were tossed into the mix and served up. But this odd stew was uniquely American, as any reader of supermarket tabloids can attest. With it, Criswell conjured himself a career out of nothing — and this, too, is very Horatio Alger.

Alas, as the '60s wore on, and psychics and the occult became mainstream, Criswell's star faded. His show did not last the '50s, and by the end of the '60s (although he did pen three books at that time) his column was relegated to the tabloids. Mrs. Criswell, who held unorthodox views on reincarnated pets and the virtues of grazing on grass for humans (she was a practitioner, and I a witness), was nevertheless a shrewd businesswoman. When her father died in 1972, she returned to her home town to live off the proceeds of the family property, and apparently sold the Selma Avenue house (to which she had title) out from under her husband. He retreated to an apartment in Burbank, where he lived out his last decade. Criswell's ashes reside in a tiny niche at the Valhalla cemetery in North Hollywood. Alas, his arc of success is also one that has been repeated in countless careers.

Perhaps Criswell's major flaw was that he was not phony enough to succeed. Although he claimed some psychic powers in public (he was more forthcoming to friends) his approach to religion was always that of a nebulous layman. Never did he claim a link with the Almighty (though often referring to Him respectfully). Thus while he could ask for money from fans, Criswell could not demand it from followers. This failure to realize where the real cash lay was not a flaw in another local figure that I once met (but cannot say that I knew): the Rev. Dr. Gene Scott.

As famous as Criswell for his onscreen persona, Doc Scott went the opposite route. Where Criswell was a Hoosier with a veneer of sophistication and low-level elegance, Scott was born in Buhl, Idaho, the son of a country preacher man — but went on to acquire a Ph.D. at Stanford. His combination of good ol' boy roughneckery with a public taste for the finer things in wine, women, art, and saddlebred horses was mesmerizing in its own way. But to it was added a constant if confusing quotation of the Bible, and reference to everything from conspiracy theory to pyramidology. Whatever this voracious reader happened to have consumed found its way into his sermons. But this particular brand of mix-and-match was not transmogrified into mere ESP; no, all became Holy Writ. Whether explaining that the Star of Bethlehem had appeared over the Great Pyramid of Giza, or that the Anti-Christ would be possessed by a demon on the shores of the Caspian Sea, Doc Scott taught with fire.

NOR DID he do it for free. He demanded that his followers pay him a million a week. If the goal were not yet reached, he would run tapes of himself riding saddlebreds, hanging out with beauties, or painting. The Reverend would berate his audience, telling them to "get on the telephone!" Once the amount was reached, then the show would begin again. In the moral arena, Doc Scott could be quite comforting — "I don't ask you about your moral life, don't ask me about mine!" He was married four times and divorced three; his youngest wife (often mistaken for his daughter) Melissa Scott, has assumed his place in the ministry since his demise in February 2005.



REV. DR. GENE SCOTT

Now, back in 1983, when the Doc was fighting with

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My encounter with the good Doctor was in keeping with his public persona. While dining at a favorite restaurant, I saw the white-haired, bearded cleric with two ladies who appeared to be on loan from Budget Rent-a-Trollop.

the FCC over his refusal to disclose the financial arrangements of his television and radio stations, a school friend and I, were somewhat inebriate (truly the best way to watch the Doc's show). We turned on his show, and marveled as he berated the FCC for threatening to yank his church's TV and radio licenses. The Doc declared, "I need a hundred 'Gideons' to pledge a thousand apiece, so's I can buy a satellite." Those who did would receive an autobiographical pamphlet, "A Lonely Winepress Off the Edge of Megiddo's Plain." My friend picked up the phone, and using a pseudonym, pledged the amount. A few days later, the pamphlet duly arrived. While I do not know if the crony ever made good on his pledge, I read the Doc's account of his life. This would have a repercussion more than 14 years later.

My own encounter with the good Doctor was in complete keeping with his public *persona*. While dining at a favorite restaurant (the Derby in Arcadia) with two friends in 1997, I looked over and saw the white-haired and bearded cleric with two ladies who appeared to be on loan from Budget Rent-a-Trollop. The party was guarded by an enormous Samoan, and the Reverend chatted with the girls while quaffing Louis XIII cognac. Pointing him out to my friends, I resolved to introduce myself. My path to the Presence was interdicted by the Islander paladin, but the Great Man called him off, declaring: "Let him approach!" I greeted Dr. Scott, and we chatted warmly for a few minutes. When I mentioned that I had read "Lonely Winepress," the Doc assumed that I had been one of those brave Gideons, and poured me a bit of his cognac. He then wrote me out a pass to attend his invitation-only Sunday services at the historic United Artists Theatre downtown, which he had made over into the Los Angeles University Cathedral (alas, I never redeemed the note). Smiling, I bade him farewell, and returned to our booth.

But the Doctor's munificence did not stop there. Gesturing like some king of old, he sent his two young escorts to dance for us. They performed for a while by our table, in a strange cross between Isadora Duncan and Salome. The lack of music made the dance all the more surreal — and brought back, unbidden, a repressed memory from my childhood: Mrs. Criswell in her bikini, lying on top of the Sunday brunch table at 6620 Selma. Truly, those who create their own worlds are free from the restrictions that bind the rest of us.

The Doctor is gone now, and his gorgeous widow soldiers on — running his empire and preaching in the same manner (although she is far easier on the eyes). When the Scottennial rolls around on August 14, 2029 (let the astrologers make of the similar dates what they will), it will undoubtedly be celebrated on a far more lavish scale with much more serious and intense celebrators. To the victor go the spoils.

None of this should come as much of a surprise, however, at least to me. As I have written elsewhere, Los Angeles long ago inherited New England's mantle as the breeding ground for bizarre religiosity and the esoteric. Both Criswell and Doc Scott were simply carrying on in an old tradition, perhaps best personified by Aimee Semple McPherson.

Sister Aimee (1890-1944) had much in common with both Criswell and the Doc. Like them, she came from a small town no one ever heard of (in her case, Salford, Ontario), and made her fame and fortune out here in the Big Nowhere. As with Rev. Scott, she was born into a more or less "conventional" Pentecostal background (such terms are relative), and went through a period of youthful agnosticism. Like him also, she had a checkered marital past, losing her first husband (a missionary) to disease in China, and being divorced by her second for abandonment after she became a full-time itinerant preacher.

From her start on the circuit in 1915, the beautiful, charismatic, and unconventional Aimee filled revival tents. She loved gimmicks — once, in 1916, while preaching before and after boxing rounds at a San Diego amphitheatre, she walked around during the match with a sign inviting the crowd to attend her service afterwards and "knock out the Devil." Rather than preaching hellfire in her white robe, Sister Aimee spoke of love: of course, at collection-time, she admonished her attendees with the simple message, "no coins please."

Her "Hot Gospel" was just the thing for Jazz-age be-

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lievers. Settling in L.A. in 1922 with her children, she soon had enough cash to open the $1.5 million Angelus Temple (now under the pastorship of 33-year-old Dream Center founder Pastor Matthew Barnett). From this seat Sister Aimee went on to found her own denomination: the International Church of the Four Square Gospel. As *Wikipedia* chastely remarks, Sister Aimee made sure that Angelus Temple was represented in local parades and entered floats into the famous Rose Parade in Pasadena. Her illustrated sermons attracted people from the entertainment industry, looking to see a 'show' that rivaled what Hollywood had to offer. These famous stage productions drew people who would never have thought to enter a church, and then presented them with her interpretation of the message of salvation. McPherson believed that the Gospel was to be presented at every opportunity, and used worldly means at her disposal to present it to as many people as possible.

Sister Aimee also took her message to the airwaves, acquiring the first radio license the FCC ever granted to a woman in 1924.

Disaster struck, however, on May 16, 1926, when Sister went for a swim at Ocean Beach, near Santa Monica, and vanished. Although it was assumed by many that she had drowned, she later reappeared in Mexico, claiming to have been kidnapped. Others asserted that she had been on a lover's holiday with an engineer from her radio station. Charges flew back and forth, and Sister's reputation never really recovered with the public at large.

The faithful believed her, however — despite a subsequent failed marriage to a cabaret singer, in defiance of her own church's ban. When the Depression broke out, Sister Aimee went from strength to strength, as she coupled her preaching with massive relief efforts. World War II saw her presiding over War Bond rallies, and the organization she founded is quite successful today. The taint of scandal appears to have vanished; the websites of both Angelus Temple and the International Four Square recount her hagiography. Of our three subjects, she was by far the most successful.

My own connection with Sister Aimee is rather tenuous, although in L.A., the crazier parts of our past are never far away. One of my favorite restaurants is the Inn of the Seventh Ray, in bucolic Topanga Canyon (much resorted to by hippies during the '60s). This building was Sister Aimee's mountain retreat, before becoming the first Foursquare Church in Topanga. It has since been taken over by followers of Elizabeth Clare Prophet's Church Universal and Triumphant. Yet another mix and match group, this sect add to various Christian belief in the Ascended Masters and much else "borrowed" from the Great I AM of Guy and Edna (Pa and Ma) Ballard. In Hollywood, whether in film or faith, nothing is too original.

If all of this seems a tad phony, well, it is tinsel town, after all! How else to explain Cardinal Mahony's cathedral? Bizarre as it may appear to outsiders, it is a fitting part of the spiritual scene here. While unbelievers may stare at the structure in dismay (*L.A. Weekly* famously described it as "butt-ugly"), those with eyes of faith see it differently. As it says on the cathedral's own website: "Two central theological truths guided [architect] Moneo's design. The first is that the Light of God is revealed in salvation history, especially in and through Jesus Christ. The second truth is the sense of journey that people make, alone and together, on the pilgrimage towards redemption in our lives and, ultimately, the fullness of the Kingdom of God in Heaven." Is all of that perfectly clear?

The mother church of the L.A. Archdiocese is certainly proof that few in this city can escape the spirit that inspired Criswell, Doc Scott, and Sister Aimee. Certainly, Cardinal Mahony hasn't — which makes him perhaps the perfect pastor out here. Given his legal troubles and scandals in the press, His Lordship might do well to hobnob with the tolerant folks who celebrate the Cristennial. If he behaves himself, we may allow him to preside solemnly over the festivities next year. CPR

AIMEE SEMPLE MCPHERSON LEADS DELEGATES AT THE 19TH ANNUAL FOUR SQUARE GOSPEL CHURCH CONVENTION DURING A 'HOLY GHOST RALLY.'

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Kurzweil

(Continued from page 22)

people who are buried when they bury their victims. Because it is not really people who stand in their way. Only "agents of past oppressions"; only "enemies of the progressive Idea."

This describes the fevered, hard-left spawning grounds that give us, for instance, wildly slanderous, *In the Valley of Elah*-style portrayals of honorable military men. It does not, however, tell us what makes people like our governor, who, whatever his shortcomings is clearly not the sort of loser David Horowitz describes, become shameless touts — whether he knows it or not — for the anti-social hard left. That involves a further step in the process. The revolutionary Idea's fanatical devotees — literally *Devils*, as Dostoevsky described them — cannot on their own destroy "the disposable past," but they soon learn that modern western democracies abound in lazy minds, Lenin's "useful idiots" — in a word: liberals — whose connections to the building blocks of our freedom are tenuous at best. Simply by stirring up endless trouble, the hard left easily induces liberals, conditioned by post-modern culture, to conclude that fighting simply isn't worth the bother. The liberals soon take up the familiar drone: the world has moved on; resistance is futile and stupid; clinging to the dead past makes us irrelevant; stubborn refusal to compromise only serves to maximize the chaos and violence of the inevitable transition. Marshall Petain, dismayed by *blitzkrieg*, delivered exactly this message in 1940 to de Gaulle and Churchill about Hitler. It manifests the weariness with the struggles of life that underlies all our politics, replacing honor, conviction, and courage with a passive willingness to bend, even if the price is "setting aside individual freedom."

This is the ultimate foolishness post-modern culture induces people to accept: that an untroubled drifting with whatever tide happens to be flowing is wiser than standing with reality itself. It transforms base opportunism into political wisdom. For another example, in a different area (but with the same broad result), it inverts "science," redefining it to mean, according to the global warming priesthood, the profoundly anti-scientific notion that "a scientific consensus" having been achieved on the subject, the debate is over. As Founding Director of the U.S. National Weather Satellite Service S. Fred Singer commented last August in Hillsdale College's *Imprimis*: "First, there is no such consensus," and, second, we should not "rely on a 'scientific consensus' in these matters [because] that is not how science works. After all, scientific advances customarily come from a minority of scientists who challenge the majority view — even just a single person (think of Galileo or Einstein). Science proceeds by the scientific method and draws conclusions based on evidence, not on a show of hands." Strangely enough, Governor Schwarzenegger made a similar point about political leadership during his 2004 speech to the Republican National Convention.

"The president did not go into Iraq because the polls told him it was popular. As a matter of fact, the polls said just the opposite. But *leadership isn't about polls. It's about making decisions you think are right and then standing behind those decisions." [emphasis added]* But that, as Tom Hayden used to say, was then; this is now: the era of Schwarzenegger both post-partisan and post-modern.

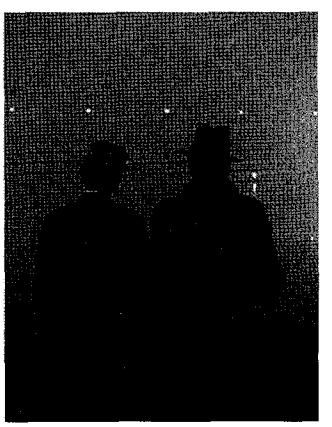
Casablanca — to return where we began — is about overcoming liberal world-weariness and cynicism to become men again. Both Rick and Renault begin the film willing, selfishly, to let human freedom die, to let humanity itself die, as Rick told Lazslo:

RICK
Don't you sometimes wonder if it is worth all this? I mean what you're fighting for?

LASZLO
We might as well question why we breathe. If we stop breathing, we'll die. If we stop fighting our enemies, the world will die.

RICK
What of it? Then it'll be out of its misery.

But by the end, Rick and Renault are off to join a Free French garrison in Brazzaville to fight against — what? The New Order, that so many in Europe called inevitable, that so many called it "a fool's errand" to oppose? Yes; exactly. The governor, and Dan Weintraub, want to play *Casablanca* in reverse. Beginning at the film's closing credits, we are to march backwards, watching its lead characters gradually *lose* their principles, slumping back into men who say "I stick my neck out for nobody" and "Frankly, I have no conviction, if that is what you mean. I blow with the wind..." Maybe the state Party can rig up some kind of backwards projector to show the great classic thus in reverse at the next state convention. It might save the governor the trouble of showing up at all. CPR



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